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## **USSR** Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

SPECIAL NOTICE INSIDE



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#### PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

#### RSFSR OFFICIAL DETAILS CHANGES TO ELECTION SYSTEM

PM031421 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Mar 87 First Edition pp 1-2

[Article by V. Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "In an Atmosphere of Democratism"]

[Text] Elections to local soviets and elections of people's judges of rayon (city) people's courts will be held 21 June 1987. The preparations and the holding of the elections constitute an important sociopolitical campaign. It is to play a great mobilizing role in enhancing Soviet people's labor and political activeness and in concentrating their efforts on fulfilling the state plans for economic and social development for 1987 and the 12th 5-Year Plan as a whole.

This election campaign will be mounted at a portentous time—in the year of the 70th anniversary of Great October. Soviet organs must make extensive use of the elections to explain the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the cause of realizing the working people's sovereign power, the democratic nature of the socialist system, and the principles of people's self-management.

These will be the first elections since the 27th CPSU Congress, which adopted historic decisions and defined the strategy and tactics for forward movement toward a qualitatively new state of Soviet society.

RSFSR working people, like all Soviet people, are working persistently to realize the tasks advanced by the party congress of accelerating the country's economic and social development. The process of the democratization of our life is increasingly being stepped up under the impact of the congress decisions. Openness, criticism, and self-criticism are being expanded, the election of leaders is being asserted in everyday practice, the mass media are functioning more actively, new public organizations are being created, and the working people's participation in the affairs of society and the state is growing. Democratization profoundly affects various spheres of the economy and policy. This thesis of Lenin's sounds particularly topical today: "Taken separately, no democratism will produce socialism, but in life democratism will never be 'taken separately' but will be 'taken together' and will also influence the economy, spur its transformation, be subject to the influence of economic development. and so forth. Such are the dialectics of living history." (Complete Collected Works, Vol 33, p 79)

The CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum pointed to the need to make maximum use of the potential for broadening socialist democracy and emphasized that only on this basis will the living creativity of the masses really acquire scope, will their involvement in solving all questions in the life of society become real, and will the human factor manifest itself in full. As is well known, the plenum devoted great attention to improving the electoral system in the country. It was pointed out that it cannot stagnate or remain outside restructuring and the new processes taking place in society. Mention was made of deepening the democratism of the electoral system and of the voters' more effective and real participation at all stages of the preelection and election campaigns.

Improving the electoral system presupposes great work on interpreting the accumulated experience and existing practice, trying out new approaches in this matter, and attentively studying public opinion and citizens' suggestions. The upcoming elections provide great opportunities for this. As the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum pointed out, it is necessary to ensure that the election campaign proceeds already this year in an atmosphere of broader democratism and of people's interested participation in this process.

The task consists, above all, in making full use of the democratic mechanisms incorporated in the existing legislation on elections to local soviets and people's courts, eliminating unnecessary regulations and stage management, ridding preelection measures and the voting procedure of formalism, and, in short, taking a fresh look at the organization of elections. In the RSFSR more than 1.15 million local soviet deputies and more than 7,500 people's judges are to be elected. In addition, approximately 500,000 people's assessors of RSFSR rayon (city) people's courts will be elected in April and May.

All this indicates the large scale of the upcoming work and the lofty responsibility entrusted to public organizations, labor collectives, and soviet organs for holding elections to the proper standard.

The local soviet elections will take place in accordance with the RSFSR Law "On Elections to RSFSR Local Soviets of People's Deputies," adopted in August 1979. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has made partial changes to that law by means of a decree, as well as adopting the resolution "On Holding Elections to RSFSR Local Soviets of People's Deputies in Multiseat Electoral Okrugs by Way of an Experiment." Corresponding acts have been adopted by the autonomous republic Supreme Soviet Presidiums. This is the legal basis of the upcoming elections. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree scheduling the elections was published Sunday, 29 March 1987. This means that the election campaign has begun. It will now proceed strictly in accordance with the deadlines set in the law. All electoral commissions must be formed no later than 28 April, the nomination of local soviet candidate deputies will begin 13 April, and they are to be registered starting 21 May.

The nomination of candidate deputies is undoubtedly a very important stage in the election campaign. It is here that the future deputies' composition is chiefly predetermined. As was pointed out at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum, the existing electoral system mechanism ensures the representation of all sections of the population in elected organs of power. The working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the intelligentsia, women and men, veterans and young people, and all nations and ethnic groups in the country are represented in the present soviets at all levels. Elected organs reflect the social, professional, and national structure of Soviet society and the diversity of the whole population's interests. And this in itself is a tremendous achievement for socialist democracy.

Our society has a profound interest in ensuring that the worthiest people, capable of running state affairs to high standards, are elected deputies. This is why it is so important to make the correct choice in the process of nominating candidate deputies. Working people's suggestions that, as a rule, not one but several candidates for an electoral okrug should be considered at preelection meetings and that the decision to nominate a candidate deputy should be adopted on the basis of a free, businesslike, and principled discussion of all possible candidates, by open ballot, deserve every support. Extensive use should be made of this approach in the upcoming elections. Of course, this will require a more attentive attitude to the preparation of meetings to nominate candidate deputies. They should not be held during the lunch break or at another inconvenient time, as has frequently happened in the past.

When nominating and discussing candidate deputies it is also important, as far as possible, to take account of where they live. Practice shows that deputies who live on the territory of or close to their own electoral okrugs act more vigorously and with great responsibility and have better knowledge of the problems that voters are concerned about.

As regards the nomination of candidate deputies from among officials, it should be borne in mind here that the title of deputy is not an appendage to an official most nor an honorary privilege but means great, painstaking work in the soviet and the electoral okrug. It is not a person's official position but, above all, his professional, political, and moral qualities that must be taken into account when nominating and discussing all candidate deputies.

An important aspect is the fact that candidate deputies may now be nominated in lar 3 labor collectives at meetings of collectives of shops, sections, shifts, teams, departments, and other subdivisions of enterprises, establishments, and organizations. This will make it possible to nominate as candidates people whom the working people know well from joint production and social activity.

The existing legislation on elections provides for the possibility of nominating candidate deputies of settlement and village soviets at general meetings and at gatherings of citizens at their place of residence. In practice, however, this provision is used extremely rarely. The direct

nomination of candidate deputies by voters would serve the still greater democratization of elections. It is also possible to use other forms of involving the population in the discussion and nomination of candidate deputies and, in particular, to have representatives of residential district co-ncils, village, street, block, and house committees, women's councils, and war and labor veterans councils participate, where conditions allow it, in meetings of labor collectives.

A new approach must be taken to holding meetings at which voters meet with candidate deputies.

Stage management and formalism have done much to hinder this work, as working people rightly point out in letters. Meetings must be held at a time convenient to voters and be open to all who wish to attend, and, most importantly, there must be a lively and open discussion at meetings of all questions of local life. Where necessary, several meetings can be held. Extensive use must also be made of other opportunities for candidate deputies' meetings with voters. Meetings for voters to meet with candidate deputies are usually held after the registration of candidates. And yet there is no ban on voters' having an opportunity to acquaint themselves with a candidate after his nomination. Incidentally, they could then express their views on a candidate. Nontraditional meetings and talks would be particularly suitable here—in parks, agitation centers, yards, doorways, and so forth. Candidate deputies and proxies should be given broad opportunities to write in the press.

At preelection meetings the voters will give instructions to their candidates. Soviets are to ensure their careful and comprehensive examination. Here instructions that are difficult to carry out but realistic must not be avoided. On the other hand, the actual potential must be carefully evaluated so as not to mislead people by making promises that cannot be fulfilled. There are cases where farfetched demands that are divorced from life and pursue the sole aim of "extorting" additional funds and quotas from the center are advanced in the guise of instructions. It is necessary to conduct openly all work connected with the adoption of instructions and discuss at meetings not only theessence of proposals but also the possibilities and ways of implementing them. It is important for soviet and economic leaders and competent soviet ispolkom apparatus workers to participate in meetings as they could clarify questions raised by voters.

The democratic norms enshrined in the existing legislation on elections must also be realized in the voting procedure. This concerns, above all, the full observance of secret balloting everywhere. Taking working people's suggestions into account, this time it is proposed to set up secret voting booths in polling stations in such a way that voters have to use them. Strict observance of the prescribed voting procedure, the efficient working of ward electoral commissions, and the ensuring of a calm, businesslike atmsophere in polling stations are of great importance.

The changes made by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to the Law on Local Soviet Elections facilitate the procedure for forming okrug and ward electoral commissions and extend the powers of ward commissions in work with voters' lists. Representatives can now be nominated to okrug and ward commissions by organs of primary public organizations, public amateur activity organs at the population's places of residence, women's councils, and war and labor veterans councils. General meetings to nominate representatives to electoral commissions and to nominate candidate deputies in labor collectives must be convened jointly by trade union committees and the management of enterprises, organizations, and establishments. Taking voters' suggestions into account, the voting slip will indicate, in addition to the usual information, the place of work and the post or occupation of the candidate deputy.

For the first time in our electoral practice elections to certain local soviets are being held by way of an experiment in multiseat electoral okrugs. In the RSFSR it is planned to conduct this experiment in 76 rayon, 47 city (cities of rayon subordination), 87 settlement, and 859 village soviets.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on holding elections in multiseat okrugs has been published. Therefore I will dwell only on individual aspects of the experiment.

Multiseat electoral okrugs are formed by the corresponding soviet ispolkoms by combining several existing okrugs that border on each other. These okrugs may be formed within the borders of individual population centers, residential districts, blocks, streets, and other constituent parts of population centers. One okrug electoral commission is elected for the entire okrug.

In such an okrug, as in conventional electoral okrugs, candidates are nominated by public organizations, labor collectives, general meetings, citizens' gatherings, and meetings of servicemen in military units. But it is important to bear in mind here that the number of candidates nominated must, as a rule, be more than the number of seats in the okrug.

If candidates are nominated in different organizations, then an okrug preelection conference is held following their nomination. The delegates to that conference are elected simultaneously with the nomination of candidate deputies. Together they solve questions connected with the presentation of candidate deputies to the okrug electoral commission for registration. If all the candidates in an okrug have been nominated in the same organization, the conference is not held. Candidate deputies are registered and entered on the voting slip in alphabetical order.

For voting in multiseat okrugs it is proposed to produce special voting slips which, in addition to in formation on the candidate deputies, will indicate the number of deputies to be elected in the okrug and will stipulate the voting procedure. The active and interested participation of voters in elections in multiseat okrugs is of tremendous importance.

If a vote results in the number of elected deputies' exceeding the number of seats for the electoral okrug, then the deputies who have fewer votes will be considered reserve deputies. They will receive corresponding certificates. If someone ceases to be a soviet deputy during his term in office, the seat so released will be transferred to the reserve deputy who received more votes than the other reserve deputies in that okrug. Reserve deputies may participate in the work of the soviet and its organs, having a consultative vote, and enjoy immunity as deputies and guarantees that the labor rights provided for in legislation for soviet deputies will be preserved. The experiment will not be confined just to elections but will extend throughout the period of activity of the soviets to which deputies are elected from multiseat okrugs.

What will the experiment produce? It would be premature to answer this question now. But it is obvious that it will enable voters to express their attitude to a wider circle of candidate deputies, and it will enable party and soviet organs to better learn the voters' mood and will. In addition, in multiseat okrugs, as a rule, the need to hold elections to replace departed deputies disappears, because their place will be taken by reserve deputies. The work of deputies in these okrugs must also be organized in a new way. They will bear both personal and collective responsibility before the okrug's voters, and every voter has the right to turn to any of them. In this way a kind of deputies' group linked by common duties toward the voters is created in the okrug.

Now about elections of people's judges of rayon (city) people's courts. It must be borne in mind that changes have also been made to the legislation on elections of people's judges, and in many respects they coincide with the changes mentioned above. During the election campaign soviet organs must strive to hold as many meetings as possible between candidate people's judges and voters. Candidate people's judges must more widely deliver reports, lectures, and talks in labor collectives, at places of residence, and also in voters' clubs and agitation centers. Many remarks and suggestions aimed at stepping up work on preventing offenses and improving the population's legal education will undoubtedly be made during such meetings. They must be taken into account in practical work.

Elections to local soviets and of people's judges and people's assessors of rayon (city) people's courts directly affect all aspects of local life. Their preparation and holding must be an important means of improving the entire activity of organs of state power and management at local level. Special attention must be devoted here to how the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Further Enhance the Role and Increase the Responsibility of Soviets of People's Deputies for the Acceleration of Socioeconomic Development in the Light of the 27th CPSU Congress Decisions," which enables the soviets to show themselves as genuine organs of power on their territory, is fulfilled in practice.

Tasks of accelerating socioeconomic development must always be in the forefront for soviets. Certain positive changes have been taking place recently in the RSFSR economy. Growth rates have increased in almost all sectors of production. Gross production of agricultural products last year exceeded by 11 percent the average annual level of the last 5-year plan. A shift has become apparent toward the more active implementation of social policy and increased construction of housing and cultural and consumer projects. However, last year's results also show something else: Almost one-third of enterprises and associations in RSFSR industry failed to ensure the planned deliveries of output under contracts, the quality of consumer goods remained low, the plans for sales of basic plant-growing products to the state were not fulfilled, and there were many shortcomings in capital construction. There have been great irregularities in fulfilling plans this year.

Under these conditions it is important that soviets persistently step up their work, more quickly assimilate their new rights, more actively resolve social questions, better tackle services for the population, and strengthen democratic principles in their activity. This is what restructuring means for them.

The election campaign must be used to eliminate shortcomings in the work of soviet and economic organs, trade and public catering enterprises, consumer services, municipal services, medical and other establishments connected with services for the population, and law enforcement organs. It is important to take into account, generalize, analyze, and draw practical conclusions from the suggestions and remarks which voters make. The election campaign must be a kind of review of the activities of local organs of power and management.

Preparations for the elections are being made in a situation where the process of the further democratization of Soviet society is becoming increasingly broad and deep. Bolder use must be made of approaches in organizational and explanatory work which meet the demands of democratization, affect people, and elicit a broad discussion of urgent problems of local life. During the election campaign it is necessary to show socialism's achievements in a well reasoned manner and carry out propaganda from a truthful standpoint, seeking to ensure that Soviet people, to use Lenin's words, can realize as soberly and as clearly as possible precisely what we "have finished" and what we "have not finished."

The elections to local soviets and of people's judges of rayon (city) people's courts will undoubtedly promote the fuller implementation of the democratic principles of the electoral system, help to enhance the Soviet people's labor, political, and spiritual activeness, and help to worthily greet the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

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#### PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LISSR CP BURO CRITICIZES COMMUNICATIONS MINISTRY

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 25 Feb 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] Measures for the better protection and utilization of historical and cultural monuments in the republic were discussed at the regular session of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro. The decree adopted on this question by the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the LiSSR Council of Ministers instructs the party gorkoms and raykoms, the ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies, the Ministry of Culture and the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee as well as other ministries and departments to assure the strict execution of the instructions issued by the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th Lithuanian CP Congress, and the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee pertaining to the need for the protection and careful utilization of our historical and cultural heritage in the communist education of workers and the necessity of adherence to the Law on the Protection and Utilization of Cultural and Historical Monuments. This decree will be published in the press.

With the aim of increasing the production and improving the quality of goods intended for public physical culture activities, athletics, and tourism, the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers adopted a decree which obliges the LiSSR Gosplan, the Ministry of Light and Local Industry, and appropriate organizations to assure an accelerated production of athletic and tourist equipment in the 12th Five-Year Plan, and particularly achletic clothing and shoe wear for children and juveniles as well as a significant increase in the output of high quality merchandise. These organizations are also obliged to develop active direct industrial ties between associations, enterprises, and organizations and enterprises and organizations of the other CEMA member nations, and to organize joint enterprises for the production of athletic goods and equipment.

The gorkoms and raykoms of the Lithuanian CP as well as the gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms are obligated to maintain constant control over the implementation of measures for the accelerated production of athletic and tourist goods as well as for the improved marketing of those goods. Greater exactingness must be placed on the managerial supervisors with respect to the fulfillment of athletic goods production plans, the staffing of enterprises

with qualified personnel, and the introduction of advanced techniques and technology.

Also examined at the session were the operations of the LiSSR Ministry of Communications with respect to improving the quality of public communications services in the republic. The session's review noted that the LiSSR Ministry of Communications has been slow in restructuring its operations in the light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The rate at which the telephone network has been developing does not meet the requirements of the national economy and the republic's population. Citizens' requests for the installation of telephones in the city are being handled slowly, and many residents have been waiting 10, 15 and more years for the installation of telephone service. The extension of the telephone network to the rural population is limited, and even until this day there are many non-industrial facilities in the rural areas that are without telephone connections.

The decree adopted by the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers on this question demanded that the Minister of Communications V. Kuzma, his deputies, and members of the collegium accelerate the restructuring of the ministry's style and methods of operation as well as those of enterprise and organization supervisors and that there should be a nigher level of responsibility for satisfying the communication services needs of the national economy and the population. The decree also demanded that the quality of those services must be raised and that strict effective controls must be instituted over the fulfillment of party and government decisions related to communications problems.

The party gorkoms and raykoms have been instructed to intensify the exactingness placed on enterprise and organization supervisors in matters dealing with the acceleration and improvement in the quality of all phases of communications operations, and to activate the work of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations in the matter of improving the level of worker vocational training and the improvement of educational work in labor collectives, the dissemination of advanced worker experience, an expansion of the tutorship movement, the consolidation of personnel, and the timely training of reserve personnel.

The Buro discussed the results of the annual reports and elections in the trade union organs of the LiSSR and obliged the party gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations, and the trade union organizations to raise the militancy of the trade union organizations and urge them to make fuller use of their rights and authority in the performance of their basic functions, and to undertake more actively the restructuring of operations on all levels in the light of the requirements of the latest party and government decrees. Genuine democratism and business-like operations should be affirmed in all trade union organs as well as broad openness in the resolution of problems related to labor, domestic questions, and recreation. Criticism and self-criticism and self-governing principles should be exercised at all levels, and an atmosphere should be created in which all worker collectives have a creative genuine interest in participating in the struggle to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development.

The party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations are to render full assistance to the trade union committees in their work with the personnel, place higher demands on communists working in the trade unions, and put an end to the faulty practice of nominating persons to trade union positions who cannot be trusted in party, soviet, and industrial operations.

The mass communications media must broadly publicize the activities of the trade union organizations and demonstrate the best examples of restructured trade union operations. The media must also level reasoned criticism at trade union committees guilty of passivity and which do a poor job of fulfilling the tasks assigned to them.

A number of other questions connected with the republic's public and political activity was also examined at the session.

6289

CSO: 1800/373

#### PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

#### GEORGIAN SOVIETS OF PEOPLES' DEPUTIES CRITICIZED ON HOUSING

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 16 February 1987 carries on page 1 a 900-word editorial titled: "Authority of a Soviet: It Is Confirmed in Business and Concern for People." The item comments on the increasing authority of the Soviets of Peoples' Deputies and their broadened rights in developing the output of consumer goods, in improving the services sector, capital construction, environmental preservation, the social and production infrastructure, and in solving other problems. After noting the characteristic positive example of the Soviet of Feoples' Deputies in the town of Sumskiy, those in Georgia are brought up for criticism.

"But not yet everywhere are the Soviets actively restructuring their work. There are large deficiencies in the work of the Georgian Soviets of Peoples' Deputies in solving housing and social problems. Having received authorizatio to an apartment, new settlers of Tbilisi, Batumi, Poti, Rustavi and other cities can move into the apartment only after a half year or even more. Why? Because, as it happens, the walls of the future home are not even erected and it is already accepted for use. Overreporting and deception have become an almost universal phenomenon. According to figures at the end of 1986, many housing units, hospitals and kindergartens were ready, and in actuality they were far from ready. And all this took place not only under the eyes of the Soviets, but with their direct participation. Similar practice in conditions of restructuring discredits what the party is doing in the interests of the Soviet people. And it is a real shame that the Georgian CP Central Committee gives a principled party evaluation only to individual facts and not to the phenomenon as a whole."

The editorial goes on to note that "Deepening democracy is unthinkable without the development of all forms of openness [glasnost]" and "It is necessary to more widely inform the population on the work of Soviets and on their fulfillment of the electorate's instructions." It concludes that "To perfect the work of the Soviets means to improve the selection and education of cadre It is necessary to advance into the soviet apparat specialists with competence and initiative who have high moral qualities and can work with people. The attestation of responsible workers in the apparat of soviet organs is called upon to render the necessary influence on cadre policy. Formalism and bureaucratism should only be avoided in this business."

CSO: 1830/425

#### PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

#### PARTY ORGANIZATIONS ACCUSED OF NOT WORKING WITH MASSES

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 12 December 1986 carries on page 2 a 2200-word article by A.N. Abbasov, secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Baku Gorispolkom, under the title "The Unity of Word and Deed." He claims that "if we were to say that rebuilding is proceeding according to normal, defined rules, we would be incorrect. A number of party organizations are still not taking into consideration the day's demands—the strong demands of rebuilding—into consideration, and political work is being conducted through worn—out slogans. They are living more by yesterday's demands than those of today and tomorrow. Direct political work and mutual understanding with the masses have been replaced by useless scribbling, and the value of party organization activities is being calculated by meetings and bureau protocols." He also remarks that "some party workers are uninformed about the workers' state of mind and their high demands of the day."

#### AZERBAIJAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY HOLDS FIFTH CONFERENCE

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 13 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 600-word Azerinform report on the fifth republic conference of the Azerbaijan Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries: the report bears the title "In the Name of Broadening Relations." "The Azerbaijan Friendship Society maintains relations with 122 countries. Soviet Union Days were held in 23 countries of Europe, Asia and Africa; the Azerbaijan SSR represented our multinational homeland at these events." At the conference, Nabi Khazri was reelected chairman of the society's presidium. Meetings were also attended by R.A. Mahdiyev, secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, and N.A. Akhundov, director of the Foreign Relations Department of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee.

#### RESTRUCTURING PROCESS PROCEEDING TOO SLOWLY

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 21 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial with the title "Restructuring Demands." It claims that "facts show that rebuilding is still being discussed only in general terms in certain labor sectors; thus, no significant turning point has been reached in the application of scientific-technical achievements, increasing the profitability of capital investment, in raising labor productivity or in improving quality data." Sectors under fire include various branches of the agroindustrial complex, the petrochemical and construction materials industries, and light industry.

#### HIGHER SCHOOL PARTY OFFICIALS DISCUSS RESTRUCTURING

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 25 December 1986 carries on page 2 a 2000-word "round table" entitled "On the Level of New Demands." Each participant is a secretary at a higher school or institute party organization. "This was the first time that this kind of exchange of ideas by higher school party organization secretaries with regard to restructuring has taken place. The discussions showed that there are a number of aspects in the work styles and methods of institute party organizations which are worthy of attention." On the other hand, "it was clear that much work is yet to be done to increase the influence of higher school party organizations and to strengthen their organizational and educational activity. Some raykoms give little thought to higher school party organizations. There are shortcomings in material-technical guarantees. One must increase the role of postgraduate studies in the training of young scientific cadres." Above all, it was found that "higher school party organizations have been unable to implement their control functions at the desired level."

/12913

CSO: 1830/397

#### PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

#### TUSSR: PEOPLES' CONTROL COMMITTEE ACCUSED OF 'LIBERALISM'

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 4 January 1987 carries on page 2 a 1200-word article by N. Shevchenko, director of the Administrative Affairs Department of the TUSSR Peoples' Control Committee, headlined "We Must Support the Power of Peoples Control." He claims that "through the fault of Tashauz Oblast agroprom leaders, the loss and spoilage of a large quantity of raw materials was permitted at cotton refining plants. For permitting violations of state regulations and irresponsibility, the oblast agroprom leaders were subjected to strong disciplinary action. But due to the hypocrisy of the leaders of the oblast peoples control committee, T. Saparov and V.N. Khomlev, there was liberalism in the punishments exacted on the guilty. Despite the emergence of basic shortcomings in the oblast's consumer services sector the oblast committee had also adopted a liberal position with regard to the leadership of the oblast consumer services administration. A similar situation occurred with regard to the leaders of trade organizations." He adds that similar situations have occurred in other oblasts of the republic.

#### CORRUPTION IN KHALACH RAYON DETAILED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 6 January 1987 carries on page 2 a 2700-word series of official letters written in response to an article which appeared in SOVET TURKMENISTANY on 30 October 1986 on the extent of corruption in Khalach Rayon (Chardzhou Oblast); the article's title is "The Air in Khalach." The letters were written by Kh. Jumabayeva, secretary of the Chardzhou Obkom, Kh. Yalbakov, first deputy procurator of the Chardzhou Oblast Frocuracy, and a group of five concerned citizens. Jumabayeva explains that both the first and second secretaries of the Khalach Raykom were fired and expelled from the CPSU due to their "unsatisfactory leadership over the rayon's socioeconomic growth, gross violations of party and state regulations, inflation of figures, and distortions in the implementation of cadre policies." Their activities were apparently unearthed during an investigation of a rice swindle in which several hundred thousand rubles had been stelen from the state. As a result of this investigation, long prison sentences and heavy fines were imposed on a number of kolkhoz managers and bookkeepers.

#### LEADING WORKERS ACCUSED OF CHEATING STATE IN TURKMENIA

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 9 January 1987 carries on page 3 a 200-word article by A. Sapargulyyev, a procurator at the Auditing Commission of the TUSSR Procuracy, and journalist O. Charyyev headlined "The Pot of Falsity Never Boils." They point out that "there are those who are creating obstacles on the road to restructuring. But men of this kind are mistaken, quite seriously mistaken. It is especially saddening to think that there are leading workers among those who are unable to refrain from old habits." Citing dozens of recent cases involving theft from the state, they claim that "many of those stealing from the state are leading workers, even communists; in other words, the state's most trusted people."

#### TURKMEN TRADE CADRES ACCUSED OF 'BASIC SHORTCOMINGS'

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 15 January 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word leading editorial headlined "Trade Cadres" discussing "basic shortcomings found in trade, especially retail networks in all oblasts of the TUSSR." A recen. decree of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, "on the irresponsible organization of trade during the New Year and the holidays," claimed that "certain crooked managers of trade outlets are permitting the setting aside and concealment of certain goods, especially meat, cooking oil, eggs, and dairy products." The editorial adds that "there are a number of trade workers who, having created a shortage in certain goods, indulged in speculation, practical various forms of deception, and are cheating the state and the consumers." It is noted that "last year measures were taken against close to 1,650 store managers and sales personnel who violated trade laws."

#### MAJOR SHORTCOMINGS HIGHLIGHTED AT TURKMEN RAYON PARTY PLENUM

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 30 January 1987 carries on page 2 a 2500-word report by Akbibi Yusupova, a special correspondent for SOVET TURKMENISTANY, headlined "Deep-Rooted Shortcomings ranging from misconduct within the party apparatus to agricultural mismanagement and nepotism in the selection and placement of cadres are discussed in detail. The report also notes that "in addition, basic mistakes are being allowed in attracting women to social production. Two hundred girls graduated from professional-technical schools in 1985, but at present, not one is working in production. The current number of unemployed women is close to 600." The number of those who have opted for a parasitic life in the rayon "exceeds 2,000. The majority of them are youths." The reporter also notes that "while it is shown on lists that there are more than 1,300 agitators, propagandists, and lecturers in the rayon, most of those named on the list were unaware of it." With regard to religion, she points out that "due to weakness in atheistic education, the number of pseudo-mullahs has not fallen. Despite the exposure of 11 liars who proclaimed themselves 'mullahs' and wandered around deceiving people, no measures were taken to put them on the correct path."

#### TURKMEN TRADE UNIONS ACCUSED OF FORMALISM

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 16 January 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "We Must Reach the Level of the Party's Demands" timed to the 10th Congress of Turkmen Trade Unions. It points out that "many trade union organs and their leaders have still not learned the lesson of principalism and the high party demands from the truths expressed at the 27th CPSU Congress, the 23rd Turkmen Party Congress and the Sixth Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee. In some places trade union councils and committees have been unable to overcome a lack of organization, formalism, bragging and working in the old style. They are not examining basic mistakes in organizing work competition, involving workers in management, and developing the brigade system of labor organization and its incentives. There are trade union committees that are indifferent to creating better working and living conditions for workers."

/12913

CSO: 1830/403

#### MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

#### NEWSPAPER EDITORS ON RESTRUCTURING

OW171245 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1015 GMT on 15 March carries a 40-minute video report on a soiree held at the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions in Moscow in honor of the opening of the Sixth Congress of USSR Journalists. The program is hosted by television personality A. Maslyakov, who is shown in the foyer of the Hall of Columns introducing the coming evening's activities.

Maslyakov notes that he is at the press center, and adds that during the evening he will talk with representatives of several newspapers and magazines, including IZVESTIYA, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, OGONEK, KORKODIL, and State Radio and Television.

After naming some of the night's performers, video cuts to the hall and shows an orchestral performance. Maslyakov is then shown again in the foyer, mentioning that IZVESTIYA is marking its 70th anniversary. Video shows enlarged pages of the paper on the wall, with the word "restructuring" in red outlined letters written across them.

Maslyakov turns to Anatoliy Ivanovich Druzenko, a member of the editorial staff, and says: "I understand that the concert atmosphere does not really put one in a frame of mind for serious discussion. Besides, it is your jubilee. Nevertheless I want to ask you this question: You know IZVESTIYA is in the 71st year of its existence. It is an unusual time for all of us, a time when we are trying to live, work, and think differently. One of the signs of the times is openness [glastnost]. Is it easier, simpler for a journalist to work now?"

Druzenko replies: "It is a mistake to think that when openness expands it becomes easier for newspapermen to work." Maslyakov asks him to explain. Druzenko continues: "Well, we now often write that stereotypes in thinking must be rejected. It is we who must reject such stereotypes because many almost conditional reflexes, many habits, are ingrained in us. For example, I recall that about 10 years ago I was in a big, beautiful city and a local journalist gave me a briefing and calmly told me: This leader is criticizable, while that one is not. But now they say there are no zones beyond criticism.

"The journalist now faces a situation he must get used to. One has to understand this. Sometimes a journalist asks: You mean that can be criticized, and he can be criticized? That is the first problem." Maslyakov says: "Well, then maybe this is really easier, going back to what I started talking about?"

Druzenko continues: "I would call the second problem a psychological one, because openness give the journalist a terrible weapon. It gives him the right to judge, to express judgments, and this is a colossal responsibility, particularly if we talk about people, not just manifestations. Journalists assess people. One could write an article about Maslyakov in the newspaper under this style of openness in a may that will have people Cearing it to pieces. You may not like it because this could be publicity, not openness [ne glastnost, mozhet byt, a oglaska]."

Maslyakov says: "Well, it depends on what you write," to which Druzenko notes that "of course, but it will be the journalist who expresses this. He gets the right to judge; you understand, I am just talking about the increase in his responsibility. On the other hand, we must struggle for openness, because it is a mistake to consider that openness has been achieved. This is a mobile process, and one cannot say that we have openness or we do not have it. There are degrees of openness, and readers are writing to us... A few days ago we published a review of letters. They said: You are not writing about this yet, you are not writing about that.

"And finally the last problem, you understand, is that there are opponents of all this. Not everybody likes this. I heard the remarks of a certain, well, let us say comrade, for instance, who said: I understand openness to mean that you need close watching [Za vami nuzhen glaz da glaz]. This is a position and it is not so simple to oppose it. You need simple civil courage for this at least. Now if you are afraid of this evil eye, then even openness will not help you. That's how I see it."

After another performance in the concert hall, video shows Maslyakov in the press center before the SOVETSKAYA KULTURA display, talking to Vyacheslav Dolganov, a department editor. Maslyakov points to photos on the wall, including portraits of Yevtushenko, Likhachev, Lavrov, and Rasputin, and asks why they are shown. Doldanov says: "You have recognized the faces. They are all familiar faces: Mikhail Ulyanov, Yevgeniy Yevtushenko, Valentin Rasputin. You have understood that these are our authors. Our permanent wri ers. Why do you see these writers in particular, since as you know last year and this year too, many other well-known authors appeared in our paper? It is because time is progressing so rapidly now that literally every month, week, or even day sees some new particularly acute, topical, or civic-minded appearance of our workers of culture."

In response to Maslyakov's request to characterize the acuteness of the paper's materials by the authors discussed, Dolganov says: "Well, one of the latest articles in the paper by Mikhail Ulyanov, 'Now or Never,' was particularly acute. This work was written after the January party Central Committee plenum.

Why is this material acute? Well, discussing the process of restructuring, its progress—and this is very important to us—he says that there are supporters of restructuring and there are opponents of restructuring, and that restructuring must be defended by all means.

"Ulyanov calls for the defense of us, newspapermen, because there are those now who quietly, sometimes covertly, express the thought that maybe newspapermen have gone too far [vzorvalis], maybe it is time to bridle them, to take them firmly in hand? And he responds that the time now is critical, it is a very tense and dramatic time. One can turn this way or that way. And so it depends on each one of us. Generally he is speaking to cultural workers, but he could be addressing any one of us. It now depends on us which way to turn, whether we follow the course set out now by the party or muddle everything up, talk everything to death.

"So this article is very important for us, it is very near and dear for our paper. It determines for a certain lengthy period the paper's tone, the tone of its work."

Maslyakov then asks about the work of Yevtushenko. Dolganov says:
"Yevtushenko's material inaugurated the new year for us with an article 'A
Right to Ambiguity'. Generally, Yevtushenko is the author of our 'Direct
Speech' column, and his rubric is very important and necessary for the paper.
This year, expanding on the ideas expressed in his first 'direct speech,' he
talks about his view on restructuring. He says that if we take the struggle
going on in society today metaphorically, what will we get? There are two
points of view on the problems of today and tomorrow. One point of view is
that we should not pour salt on old wounds, on wounds in general. The other
point of view, which is probably more correct, is that we should not pour
sugar on wounds, because the cleansing salt of truth is always curative,
although at times it is not only salty but ever bitter."

Maslyakov then asks Dolganov about the reaction of readers to these sharp materials. Dolganov says: "Well, I should probably recall our previous mail when we were very often asked such questions as: Is it true that a chandelier fell and crushed a well-known songstress and deprived her of her voice, and everything else." He adds that today "we have begun speaking more seriously with people, and they speak more seriously with us. In particular, we have had many letters on the campaign concerning the Hill of Reverence [planned Moscow monument to war dead]. Not only when construction of the first version was halted, or when the exhibition was held in the Manege, but also when at first the jury said: why discuss every model separately, why show this on television, our readers said: no, please show them and name them.

"In response to the readers our paper carried out a discussion of this exhibition, and I think that the jury took stock, possibly not so much of us newspapermen as of our readers."

Maslyakov thanks Dolganov, after which video cuts back to show the remainder of the concert performance.

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CSO: 1800/478

#### MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

#### EDITOR DECRIES OPPONENTS OF PRESS CRITICISM

LD161513 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 16 Mar 87

[Text] The Sixth Congress of the country's Union of Journalists is taking place in the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions. Here is a report by our special correspondent Petr Orlov:

[Orlov] Today is the final day of the congress; the final day and the busiest one. In their speeches from the podium the delegates are attempting to focus on the whole experience of the congress's work; to talk about what has still not been heard; and of course, once again draw attention to the important points which the journalists have already discussed. Above all, these are problems of the union itself. It has not yet become a genuinely creative center of work. Its activity is not helping to increase the prestige of journalists. The Union of Journalists rarely helps press workers in their defense against those who have been criticized in the press. More than enough examples of this were cited here at the congress. This is what Albert Andreyevich Belyayev, the editor of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, said on the subject:

[Begin Belyayev recording] Our path is far from strewn with roses. Having adopted clear and precise party positions in the restructuring which has unfolded, the central press has, in many of its pointed and well-argued pieces, provoked undisguised indignation from those who have come under fire from criticism; those who are afraid of the present openness in our life, the growing publicity, and developing democracy. There are still quite a lot of such people. Their position is still strong. But at the same time, there are quite a number of others who genuinely do not understand what they have to restructure, and how; who are sincerely bewildered as to why there is so much criticism in the press--why so many complicated questions have begun to be discussed in its pages. Today the times require everyone to make a choice; they require actions aimed at resolutely rejecting everything which is preventing life from acquiring new dimensions. The opponents of publicity and criticism somehow cannot get into their heads the elementary question: Why should a journalist write a critical article? What personal benefit will he derive from it? After all, more often than not, by writing a critical piece a journalist dooms himself to unpleasantness. Nothing could be easier and more pleasant than writing rosy essays about the main achievements as used to be the case in our country. But that is the essential point: Many party

journalists see it as their duty today to be talking to people in the language of truth however bitter and difficult it may be. They are acting as their party duty requires and as our times require.

In talking about the reaction to concrete speeches, one must mention another stereotyped perception. Unfortunately, many state and often party bodies still approach newspaper publications from purely departmental positions. If an opinion expressed in a newspaper does not accord with that accepted in one department or another, the heads of it immediately ask the question which they put to the editor threateningly, there and then: Why did you have to go and publish this? For such people, as the hero in the latest story by Danilo Granin jokes, only two points of view exist—mine and the incorrect one.

It is important to stand firm and not give in to pressure from such desk officials. It is time for all of us to understand that the newspapers by no means express the ultimate truth in one article or another, but rather the point of view of a journalist, a party worker, a scientist, or a professional teacher—a point of view not an obligatory directive for everyone. Learning democracy also means learning to respect another person's opinion. We must learn to polemicize correctly and not hurry to brand the political alternatives of opponents. The lessons of history should teach us a thing or two. [end recording]

[Orlov] The journalists are now analyzing the lessons of history, particularly recent history. Today they are to sup up the results of the congress, adopt new rules, and elect the leaders of the Union of Journalists.

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CSO: 1800/478

#### MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

#### ROLE OF POLITICAL-SATIRICAL JOURNAL IN IRAN EXAMINED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 5 December 1986 carries on pp 6, 8 a 2800-word article by Samad Sardariniya with an introduction by Abbas Zamanov. The title of the article is "MOLLA NASRADDIN and Iran"; it first appeared in VARLYG (Tehran) No 11-12, 1986 and is timed to the 80th anniversary of the founding of the political-satirical journal, which was published between 1906-1932. "As a result of the powerful influence of MOLLA NASRADDIN a turning point was reached in the Iranian press. In fact, this progressive and democratic press organ defined the direction of the periodical press during Iran's Constitutional Revolution and set an example for it." A number of its successors, published in Tehran and Tabriz, are cited.

#### 1907 DENUNCIATION OF AMERICA RECALLED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 27 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 2100-word article by Abbas Zamanov timed to the 80th anniversary of the founding of the Azeri satirical journal MOLLA NASRADDIN; the article's title is "Book of Truth." Citing a number of examples of its contemporaneity today, he writes: "Let's bring up another example to prove MOLLA NASRADDIN's modernity. In issue number 13 of 1907 it wrote in an article: 'Oh Americans, why did you come to our country?'" and adds "'we are sure you have a stratagem in mind. For example, did you come with the goal of tricking us poor Muslims, gaining a concession and making us your workers so you could stuff your pockets with money we earned with our own hands?'" Zamanov adds: "Do not these lines correctly show the content of the intrigues set up by international imperialism in the East today, especially by its flagbearer, American militarism?"

#### WESTERN CLAIMS OF RUSSIFICATION REFUTED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 12 December 1986 carries on page 3 an 1800-word article by Professor Aghababa Rzayev, Dr Leg Sci; the title of the article is "Language and Policy." Claiming that "the non-Russian peoples' interest in and love of the Russian language in our country is not a 'fabrication' of the Marxists but a necessary demand," he adds that a number of Western scholars (Silver, Rivkin, Chrysostomo) have made similar observations. However, "a number of Western ideologists use the language problem as a channel of ideological influence and ignore the obvious successes gained in the development of the USSR's national languages." The ideologists mentioned are Lemercier-Quelquejay, Wimbush, Zimon, Brechis, Bilinsky, and

Henze. The author points out that "it is clear that foreign ideologists are not interested in the Azeri people, the power of their language, its progress and further flourishing. Their basic objective is to turn the language problem into an object and channel of ideological struggle and into an area of political argument."

#### LIFE OF IRANIAN AZERBAIJANI PROPAGANDIST HIGHLIGHTED

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 26 December 1986 carries on page 8 a 1600-word article by V. Mammadaliyev, Dr philol sci, and A. Dadashov, cand philol sci, on the occasion of the 7th birthday of the party activist and scholar Mbuariz Alizade; the title of the article is "Prominent Scholar." Born in Iranian Azerbaijan on 27 December 1911, he joined the Iran CP in 1927. In 1928 he was sent to study in the Soviet Union where he completed work at party schools in Nakhchyvan and Tbilisi. He was then appointed to party posts in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. "After the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War M. Alizade, then in the army, was recalled by the Azerbaijan CP Central committee in connection with the organization of radio broadcasts from Baku to Iran. He began to work as translator and chief editor on the Iran desk of the Azradiokomitet. He held this position throughout the entire war, and his articles struck decisive blows at the enemies of our homeland. M. Alizade is still an active colleague on this same desk. In the course of 45 years he has prepared more than 1200 broadcasts for Iran."

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CSO: 1830/398

#### HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

#### VOLOBUYEV ON HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTION'S IDEALS

PM271126 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 87 First Edition p 2

[Article by P. Volobuyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric "Questions of Theory: Great October and the Historical Destiny of Our Motherland"--capitalized passages between slantlines are printed in boldface]

[Text] It has been observed that the revolutions which have made a profound imprint on mankind's history were called into being not only by the requirements of social development in the countries where they took place, but by those of world development as a whole. The Great October Socialist Revolution fits closely into the context of this general law. At the beginning of the 20th century, when the task of the transition from capitalism to socialism had become urgent on a worldwide scale, it was October which expressed it most fully, opening up the era of revolutionary reorganization of the world on new, socialist principles. At the same time the October Revolution had deep roots in Russian reality and met the national interests and requirements of Russian's peoples. /ITS UNFADING SIGNIFICANCE IS THAT IT LINKED SOCIALISM INSEPARABLY TO THE HISTORICAL DESTINY OF OUR MOTHERLAND./ And for nearly 70 years now socialism has been our national path of development.

"In our consciousness, in our feelings, October is the highest object of national pride for Soviet people," the CPSU Central Committee Appeal "To the Soviet People" says. "The revolution was an unprecedented upsurge in the masses' historical creativity, the hour of glory for the victorious people who cast off the yoke of capitalist and landowning exploitation."

The October Revolution began by correcting what was a fatal and seemingly irreversible course of events for our country—it saved Russia from national catastrophe. The bourgeoisie, which had come to power in February 1917, guided by narrow class and selfish interests, was not only continuing a war odious to the people but, through its policy, was exacerbating the economic ruin brought about by the war and deliberately pushing the country into the abyss of catastrophe, hoping that economic collapse would bring the people "to their senses" and avert a proletarian revolution. At the same time military defeats, by undermining Russia's military defense potential, created a real danger of the loss of its national autonomy and territorial integrity. V.I. Lenin was virtually the first to perceive this danger, pointing out that Russia is threatened with partition and suffocation by the imperialist giants.

The October Revolution, overthrowing the bourgeoisie, restored to our motherland the status of a great world power, filling that status with new social content. And later, when the White Guards, wholesale and retail, sold it to foreign imperialists, it was the party of communists and the Soviet power which appeared in the eyes of the people's masses as staunch defenders of the national interests and rights of the peoples of Russia and of its state sovereignty and unity.

A priority nationwide task for the revolution was the elimination of Russia's backwardness. While being a major capitalist state of the time, it was nevertheless markedly behind the leading Western countries in technical and economic terms. And in the first decades of the 20th century this backwardness increased still further. The social expression of this was the low standard of living and the poverty and indigence of the population, especially the peasantry. Russia's cultural backwardness was also a national tragedy. Russia gave the world classics of artistic and scientific creativity and many leading lights in culture and science. Yet before the revolution three-fourths of its adult population were illiterate. As for Russia's ruling circles, Kokovtsov, head of the czarist government, addressing the State Duma (May 1913), stated with the utomost frankness: "To suggest that in the space of not much more than 20 years we could catch up with states with centuries of culture is a demand that should not be made."

The October Revolution boldly, decisively, and rapidly, like no other revolution in world history, cleansed the country of the medieval garbage--of, in Lenin's words, that "barbarity, that ignominy, that great brake on all culture and all progress in our country" (Complete Collected Works, Vol 44, p 144). At a stroke it freed the many millions of peasants from their enslavement to landowners. The estate system, the privileged position of the church, and the inequality of women were also abolished.

History has confirmed the correctness of Lenin's scientific prediction: Only the revolutionary transition to higher, socialist production and an improved political organization of society, by liberating the mighty social sources of strength, latent in the people's masses, which had been oppressed by czarism and capital, opened up the real opportunity to lead Russia out of the impasse of backwardness onto the path of national liberation and social progress. Let us recall that on the very eve of October, in the days when the country lay in ruins and nothing more than daily bread, seemingly, could be dreamed of, the inspired words of the leader of the revolution rang out: "Catch up and overtake the leading countries /ECONOMICALLY/ too" (Vol 34, p 198).

The October Revolution changed gear, so to speak, in the country's social development, showing clearly that enormous forces and potential are inherent in socialism for the acceleration of social, economic, and cultural progress. The Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, overcame incredible difficulties and privations to put an end to the consequences of economic ruin by the mid-twenties. By the end of the first 5-year plan the Soviet Union ranked first in Europe and second in the world in terms of the

level of industrial production. In a historically short space of time our country reached levels which the Western countries had achieved over many decades and even centuries. In the countryside, small-scale, scattered peasant farming was replaced by large-scale socialist production. The cultural revolution made it possible to eliminate the illiteracy of the majority of the population, train cadres for the new, Soviet intelligentsia, and create a solid scientific front.

The October Revolution is inseparably linked to the resolution of a problem of paramount importance for a multinational country, the elimination of national oppression and the safeguarding of every people's real right to national self-determination. The revolution marked a radical breakthrough in the life of each of Russia's peoples, providing them with the material, social, and political conditions for national rebirth and development on the basis of equality, freedom, and voluntary fraternal cooperation within the framework of a united union state. Socialism, finding our country's peoples at various levels of economic and cultural progress, ensured the evening out of their levels of development, the actual equality of nations and ethnic groups in all spheres of society's life, and the flourishing of a culture that is national in form and socialist in content.

In the course of socialist transformations, historic changes also took place in the sphere of morality and the social psychology of the masses. To replace bourgeois and petit bourgeois morality and psychology, the new socialist principles of humanism, collectivism, and comradely mutual assistance became established and put down deep roots in Soviet society.

By turning our motherland into a leading, powerful state, socialism radically changed its situation and role in the international arena. Whereas in World War I bourgeois landowning Russia was the servant of the Western allies, in World War II the Soviet Union was a leading force in the anti-Hitler coalition and made a decisive contribution to the victorious outcome of the war. It was socialism which endowed our country with the insuperable might and staunchness against which the attempts of the strike detachment of world imperialist reaction, Hitler's Germany, to take social revanche and enslave the Soviet people were smashed. In the years of the Great Patriotic War the destiny of the motherland and the destiny of socialism merged in Soviet people's consciousness, and that became one of the ideological sources of Soviet patriotism and mass heroism.

As we can see, /THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION RENEWED OUR COUNTRY POLITICALLY, MATERIALLY, SPIRITUALLY, AND MORALLY/. These developments of worldwide historical significance were possible because the revolution set in motion the enormous creative potential of the people's masses and aroused in them a hunger for building and independent creativity. In the first decades of Soviet power the broad people's masses, seeing the old world collapsing and the face of their native land transformed as a direct result of their revolutionary and labor efforts, felt involved in "making" history for the first time. Hence the revolutionary enthusiasm and labor zeal, exceptional in its mass scope and sincerity, in the twenties and thirties. The deeds and actions of

individuals and entire collectives were evaluated not only by party and Komsomol members, but also by broad circles of the working people according to the highest criterion of the time: Whether or not they met the interests of the revolution and socialism. A high ideological and moral atmosphere—that is the live-giving source that is today so necessary for the moral cleansing of our society!

The crucial significance of the October Revolution for the historical destiny of our motherland is that it opened up for the people's masses the path of truly democratic progress. As is well known, as a consequence of the prolonged domination of czarist abolutism and the weak state of bourgeois liberalism in Russia, democratic institutions and traditions had not become established. But the people's masses themselves, in the process of revolutionary creativity, made good this historical defect by creating the Soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies. In terms of the degree of democratism, these surpassed any institutions of bourgeois democracy and became the organs of people's power and democratic self-government.

On the other hand, the bourgeois-democratic system which became established in Russia after the February Revolution revealed its limitations in a short space of time--it brought the working people no real benefits: neither peace, nor bread, nor land. The Russian bourgeoisie itself, from fear of independent revolutionary activity by the masses, rapidly became disillusioned with bourgeois democracy and, on the admission of Milyukov, leader of the main bourgeois party, the Cadets, in the fall of 1917 it gave up supporting the bourgeois republic. It wove counterrevolutionary plots with a view to stifling the revolution and restoring the monarchy. The historical truth is that the socialist revolution, by overthrowing the bourgeoisie, saved the people's democratic gains, developed and deepened them, and extended them to the sphere of socioeconomic relations.

After the October Revolution the Soviets made it possible to combine democracy with socialism and thus involve the broad masses of working people in active participation in political life and the management of state affairs. In the first decades the Soviets at all levels took part actively in socialist transformations and enjoyed high prestige and trust among the people's masses. Today, therefore, when the party has set a course of widening socialist democracy and increasing the role of the Soviets, we need not borrow models of democratism from anywhere else, they are available in our history, in our experience.

Of course, in the course of socialist development, because of both objective and subjective factors, there were difficulties, shortcomings, miscalculations, and errors, which not infrequently became dramatic. This too is historical truth. It sometimes seems that there have been more dramatic and at times even tragic situations in our history than there might have been. It is true that, first, all the imaginable and unimaginable difficulties and trials that await pioneers on the untrodden roads of social progress fell to our lot. Second, it became clear that even under socialism historical development follows a zigzag path. Lenin himself draw attention to this, noting in 1921

in connection with the transition to the NEP [new economic policy]: The party "assumed that our progress would follow a straight line. It turned out, as it has constantly turned out throughout the history of revolutions, that progress took place by zigzags" (Vol 43, p 65).

Third, the historical youth of socialism as a new socioeconomic system should be taken into account. In history, 70 years is a very short time. Socialism, therefore, although it has managed to demonstrate its creative might and indisputable advantages over capitalism, has not been able fully to develop its creative potential. The formation of the new type of democracy is taking place with particular difficulty. But that is, if you like, a general historical law. In France, for instance, the establishment of bourgeois democracy (formal, to a large degree) took three bourgeois revolutions (1798-1794, 1830, and 1848), one proletarian revolution (the Paris Commune of 1871), and in our time the Popular Front epic (1936-1938).

Finally, a heavy price had to be paid for deviations from Leninist principles and methods of building the new society, for violations of the socialist rule of law and the democratic norms of life in the party and society, for voluntarist errors, and for dogmatism in thought and inertia in practical actions.

At the end of the seventies and beginning of the eighties, an alarming situation arose for the historical destiny of our motherland as a socialist state. It is not only a question of the fact that at that time there was a slowing down of the rate of economic growth and its social returns. The process of democratization of public life which began after the 20th CPSU Congress was halted and then went into reverse; administrative and bureaucratic methods of leadership of the economy, culture, and science again prevailed; the administrative apparatus swelled; the principles of social justice were violated; and the gap between words and deeds became increasingly apparent. As a result the faith of some Soviet people, especially young people, in our revolutionary and socialist ideals was weakened.

However, these distortions and deformations did not arise from the nature of socialism, they did not change its essence or shake the Soviet people's fidelity to their fundamental socialist choice. It is socialism that is associated with the social and national rebirth of our motherland, its historic ascent from backwardness to the heights of modern civilization and might, our hopes and plans, our today and our tomorrow.

In 70 years of Soviet power our country has achieved gigantic results. Striking changes have taken place in all spheres of the national economy and the people's well-being. Unemployment, poverty, and indigence among working people have receded forever into the past. The Land of the Soviets has become a major, independent world center of scientific, technical, and cultural progress. By any yardstick, these results can only be assessed as an unprecedented leap forward in the development of production forces and culture. That is the historical truth about the achievements of socialism in the USSR.

The CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress elaborated the party's political line designed to radically renew socialism and accelerate the country's socioeconomic development in every way.

Major decisions of fundamental importance were adopted at the January (1987) plenum of the Central Committee. They arm the party and people with the theory of restructuring and mobilize them to more profound reforms and bold measures designed to endow socialism with the most up-to-date forms of organization of society. The key to the attainment of these goals is the revolutionary restructuring, the democratization of all spheres of public life, and the development of the masses' initiative and independent activity.

As usually happens at major turning points in history, the organizational role of the administrative apparatus is increasing steeply today. Let us recall how Lenin formulated the alternatives on this question in connection with the transition to the NEP. In the plans for the pamphlet "On the Food Tax," he wrote: "Without the 'apparatus' we would have perished long ago. Without a systematic, stubborn struggle to improve the apparatus we will perish before the base for socialism has been created" (Vol 43, p 381). It is clear why the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum paid such keen attention to cadre policy.

Our choice is unequivocal. "Not away from socialism, but more socialism," M.S. Gorbachev has noted. That is the essential imperative of history, that is the response of the party and people to the challenge of our stern and crucial times.

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CSO: 1800/478

# HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

# PHILOSOPHER DISCUSSES SOCIALIST COLLECTIVENESS

PM251400 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 87 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Tolstykh under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "Socialist Collectiveness and Individuality"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] It is no exaggeration to say that the problem of the relationship between collectiveness and individuality holds a special place in the implementation of the strategy for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress. This problem combines many of the trends and contradictions of present-day social development. It was at the center of attention at the Central Committee January (1987) plenum, which elaborated a bold and purposeful program for the democratization of all public life.

As soon as our pressing concerns of today are seen in the context of the long-term goal, and the ideals of socialist transformation (and that is how they should be seen, both in theory and in practice), a task on a worldwide historical scale comes to the fore: the resolution of the eternal dispute between the individual and the race; society and the separate person, the collective and individuality.

K. Marx noted that "the social history of people is always only the history of their individual development, whether they realize this or not" (K. Marx, F. Engels. Works, vol 27, pp 402-403). For Marxism, man is something more than a mere center, a focal point where all the many and varied aspects of the social process "converge." Man is the condition and guarantee of the integrity of society and the historical process, the living vector of the social link. The essence of man is the totality of all social relations.

The birth of socialist collectiveness, which differs radically from the earlier historical forms of "pseudocollectiveness," was portrayed by K. Marx, F. Engels, and V.I. Lenin as a prolonged, complex, and in a sense "agonizing" process of liberation of people's relationships from all forms and manifestations of the alienated existence which is inevitable in the conditions of the society of class antagonism. Great October started this process.

The development of socialist collectiveness should be seen in historical terms, with its level of maturity being linked to society's general progress.

Socialist collectiveness is necessary, first, in order to overcome the private ownership social structure of life and the old way of dividing labor which distorts human individuality, and, second, in order to ensure that people exercise an intelligent mastery over the forces of nature and domination over their own relationships. It is not an end in itself, but a necessary condition for the free, integrated development of the individual.

Socialist (true) collectiveness is a union of people for whom the form of the social link which unites them ceases to be something external to themselves, to their personal goals, needs, and interests. The assimilation of this proposition is the essence of socialist collectiveness, since here the SOCIAL is not simply taken to be PERSONAL, it becomes "in actuality" a profoundly personal motivation, aspiration, interest, and cause. And only in so far as this interpenetration takes place is it possible to speak of the socialist quality of the collective.

Socialism, seen from the viewpoint of the changes it makes to human life, begins with the elimination of the gulf, and then of any substantial distinction, between man's social (state) life and his individual (private) life. Between how people really live, what way of life they actually pursue, and themselves as individuals, as separate people. After all, it is well known that it is possible for a person to live not his "own" life, but a life imposed on him from elsewhere, from "outside," a life which engulfs him entirely in goals and interests which bear no relation or scarcely any relation to his individuality, his own needs and goals.

The socialist collective is the cell in which social relations of cooperation, comradeship, and mutual assistance are developed, where the principle "one for all, all for one" begins to operate. The formula for socialist communal living and the socialist way of life is: The responsibility of each one to the collective and the responsibility of the collective for each one. Both sides of this demand are important and significant. The essence of socialist collectivism is by no means confined to "joint activity" in order to achieve a common (production or social) goal. To the ability to live jointly, together, resolving all questions "as a group"; to the willingness to sacrifice the personal for the sake of the social. Collectiveness in this sense is insufficient for scientific socialism, and moreover it is insufficiently socialist by its very nature. This view, which is sometimes attributed to Marxism, is an echo, a recurrence of the patriarchal mentality, where the community is the basis of the way of life and the individuals belonging to it are merely passive components, parts of the whole.

In practice this conception of the nature of collectivism not infrequently prevails, and then the fulfillment of production tasks and plans, irrespective of the means by which this is achieved or the cost, is considered a quite sufficient justification for conferring lofty titles on the collective. And the essence of the transformations carried out by socialism in the sphere of social and individual life not infrequently amounts to the observance of generally accepted, traditional principles, norms, and rules of communal living and the total identification of the personal with the social.

A superficial interpretation of the nature of socialist collectiveness makes it possible for a particular collective to shrug aside the responsibility for molding and educating the personality and developing its individuality. Interest in the individual person is then confined to a purely functional framework, purely functional demands—the satisfaction of his social and cultural needs, while he himself is seen only as a worker, a factor in production. Certain collectives, as a rule, notice and evaluate only "extraordinary" deeds and actions by an individual, primarily deviations from the norms of social morality and production ethics. The discovery and development of the capabilities of each member of the collective is his own personal affair. While the concepts of the "human factor" is being applied widely, the serious meaning invested in the concepts of "man," "the individual," and "individuality" should not be forgotten.

Until recently the opinion was current in the public consciousness that in our country things are going well, by and large, so to speak, with the collective, but badly with the individual person. It is he, the individual person, who does poor work, exercises poor leadership, behaves "wrongly" in production and in daily life. The restructuring situation has taught us another lesson in truth: It turns out that not everything is in order concerning collectiveness, concerning the social link itself, and that is why defects and distortions occur in the development of individuality. The decline in interest in public affairs and manifestations of spiritual aridity and philistinism or of a cynical or skeptical attitude toward our society's moral values have deeper underlying causes than the shortcomings of educational work, which has long been the customary explanation. The practice and ideology of stagnation loosened the social link between people, leading to achnocratic distortion of both collectiveness and the individual personality. This was expressed, to use A. Herzen's apt words, in the petit bourgeois crystallization and depersonalization of collectiveness itself and in disregard for individuality and for the origins of human efforts and actions, where it is "all the same WHO does WHAT and HOW, and the principle which begins to prevail is "the action as type, the action as genre, the action as action, but not as person." What this leads to in practice was graphically demonstrated by the so-called economic remainder principle of social and cultural planning [whereby only those resources left over from production needs are allocated to sociocultural development], which basically means indifference to people on the part of the economy, indifference to its own human purport and the content of social activity.

The measure of socialist collectiveness is that, in uniting people through their common social and production interest, it sets itself the supreme goal of creating the conditions for developing the individuality of every member of society. And it not only creates these conditions, but is responsible for the fullest possible development of the individual, of all the working people (the fullest possible at a given stage of society's socioeconomic, cultural, and moral maturity). As a result the socialist collective itself develops: The richer and more vivid the individuality and the higher the level of development of each member of the collective, the more effective and humane the collective as a whole becomes in its social capacity.

Democratization is the living soul of restructuring, and in this sense it is a necessary condition of the development of the creative initiative of the masses and the individual and of their involvement in the management of the affairs of state and society. The draft Law on the State Enterprise, now being discussed, significantly expands the rights and increases the role of the labor collective (and all its components and subunits) in the resolution of production and social questions. Its adoption should have a substantial, marked effect not only on the efficiency of social production, but also on the working people's way of life. Among the most important signs of restructuring (and that means the criteria by which its success should be assessed) the January Plenum singled out, in particular, the establishment of a high degree of respect for the value and dignity of the individual and constant concern for the spiritual wealth and culture of society and the individual.

The problem of combining the interests of society, the collective, and the individual is becoming the center of attention. What the language of economics calls intensive factors for the development of the national economy means, in terms of socialist humanism, turning the economy and all social production in the direction of man—and not only the mass, "everyone together," but each person individually. As M.S. Gorbachev noted, the system of economic management itself must be organized in such a way that every collective and every working person seeks to make full use of their capacities and potential in social production and in increasing its efficiency. These tasks will be better resolved as production and social questions and the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual become more closely linked.

Improving the economic machinery is not confined solely to the sphere of production management, but also affects the nature of production (human) relationships within the labor collective (teams, enterprises, industrial and agrarian associations) and the working people's individual level of development.

It can no longer be assumed that in the resolution of highly complex economic and general social questions the efforts of the collective will be sufficient, regardless of the level of social maturity, independence, and responsibility of each of its members. More relevance than ever can be seen in Lenin's demand to take into account "quality in quantity," that is, in the mass, which, for the leader of the revolution, was never something faceless, gray, or vague. There is a growing awareness that, first, the development of the socialist collective itself is very closely dependent on the development of the members which make it up, and second, that many problems, above all those associated with increasing the efficiency of social production, developing socialist daily life, and so forth, are held up because of the inadequate general and moral culture of the individual person.

The collective is certainly a great force whose might is multiplied in the conditions of socialism. But it would be naive to assume that the collective is omnipotent and will always "work." The collective is, of course, capable of making anyone who is lacking zeal work, capable of calling him to order and discipline. But it is powerless to make a person WANT to work or make him work CREATIVELY, "with fire," as the saying goes, although the working atmosphere depends largely on the collective. This is the prerogative of man himself, the property of his individuality. So while counting on the

collective's strength and might, it is necessary also constantly to ensure that it is made up of people with a developed awareness and self-awareness, of creative individuals and independent characters.

The thesis that the development of socialist collectiveness is impossible without the all-around development of man himself and the uncovering of the wealth and uniqueness of his individuality is disputed by nobody and is eagerly proclaimed, but the obligations it imposes are assimilated and put into practice with great difficulty. Here it is by no means a question of underestimating the importance of individuality or the individual as concepts (on the contrary, the period of stagnation is characterized by an enthusiasm among our social scientists for the subject of the individual). The "standardization" of the individual, the molding of the dutiful man who is efficient but lacks initiative, who knows "his place" and tends not to emphasize his own capacities and inclinations, were characteristic of the mechanism of retardation. He is, so to speak, "infected" from within with the mentality of leveling, which suits nothing better than colorlessness and mediocrity. The fatal and commanding power of this machinery was felt intensely by the sphere of literature and art, where one would think that nothing could be done without brilliant individuality and talent. But it was here, as was noted at the January plenum, that the production of colorlessness, of mediocre, faceless works which have nothing to offer to intelligence or feelings, acquired the nature of a production line. But it was difficult for talented people in other spheres of public life tooscience, management, and so forth.

Let me note yet again: Only in the collective can man uncover his gifts and capacities. But how much of an interest does the collective have today in the all-around development of the individual and in uncovering everyone's capacities and creative powers? This is a key question in characterizing the socialist nature and maturity of the present-day labor collective.

It is well known that the life of collectives is determined not only by production targets, but also by social development plans. These make concrete provision for the growth of each working person both in the professional, official respect and in the personal, individual respect. Here a dual criterion is used in evaluating the individual—the effectiveness of his economic efforts, and the humanist criterion relating to his social and spiritual development. This is evidently inevitable at this stage in the development of socialist social production, since a significant distinction persists between the production of material life and the means of existence and the production of man himself. But it is no secret that many collectives confine their task to the production and reproduction of a high-standard (or efficient) worker, that is, basically they do not go beyond the bounds of the purely economic rationale. Some leaders and economic leaders have to be persuaded of the importance of satisfying the working people's most essential everyday and sociocultural needs.

Socialism opened up for man--and not for an elite stratum, but for all the working people--broad opportunities for development, stimulating this process in every way and revealing in practice its commitment to the creative development of every working person's talents and capacities. And at the same

time it cannot yet (for the time being) renounce the functional approach to the molding of the human individual and the assessment of his social qualities. Here the qualities which are important from the viewpoint of their social significance come to the fore. For instance, labor characteristics are considered leading and sometimes absolutely dominant in comparison with, say, the characteristics of a person as a family man or his moral qualities.

Today the historical limitation of this approach to man is becoming increasingly perceptible and the realization is becoming increasingly widespread that a person's characteristics cannot, in principle, be restricted to any one aspect and that comprehensive approaches and assessments of a person's level of development and current development are needed.

The state and maturity of socialist collectiveness, which presupposes a sufficiently high level of independent activity by individuals and consciousness in their attitude to society, are defined by how far the social and public elements have become individual and personal, and how far the social and public elements are permeated by personal, individual interest. It is a question not only of developing and improving the social link itself, but of each person's ability to "assimilate" reality, find his place in it, and become actively involved in public life, without forgoing his own individuality. This, in fact, is the concrete expression of the degree of people's mastery of their own social relations under socialism.

/8309

CSO: 1830/409

### RELIGION

# FORMER RELIGIOUS DISSIDENT CONDEMNS WEST'S PROPAGANDA

LD260012 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 25 Mar 87

[Text] A 30-year-old Muscovite who until recently considered himself a religious dissident has now returned to Moscow after serving a sentence. Sergey Markus has been telling a reporter of the news agency NOVOSTI about the open letter which he wrote from prison a year and a half ago, addressing it to the two Soviet news agencies TASS and NOVOSTI. This is what he wrote in the letter:

In 1984 I was arrested and convicted for criminal activity. Namely, for a number of years I had served as the head of an illegal religious group that duplicated and circulated printed matter that was not only religious but anti-Soviet. This group established contacts with religious centers abroad that were engaged in subversive actions. I was convicted not for my faith, not because I was a convinced Christian of the orthodox church. The faithful and atheists have to answer before the law for breaking the law. I now realize that my unlawful activity damaged not only the nation but in the final analysis the church as well, so I have decided to return to active life as a full-fledged citizen for the good of my country. For this reason I do not wish my name to be used henceforth for propaganda hostile to my country."

This was what Sergey Markus said in his open letter a year and a half ago. When the news agency reporter asked him a few days ago what the reaction to his letter had been he said this:

"The BBC commentator Malcolm Haslett declared the letter had been wrung from me by brute force. Either I had been broken or I was trying to get out of prison as soon as possible. But I was prepared for such talk. I was ready to accept the pain of it for myself and other former people of like mind for their sake above all. Most important, I realized that I and others like me were being used not to democratize Soviet society, as it was said, but to promote confrontation between east and west. Religious dissidents in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are supposed to serve as a kind of detonator in this confrontation."

The reporter asked Sergey Markus what had prompted him, a former dissident, to make such a radical reevaluation of values. "I was giving my conscience a going-over, Markus said. What prompted this was the steps taken to improve Soviet society morally and physically. Say the government's measures against drinking—these measures pricked the huge soap—bubble of anti-Soviet propaganda about the vodka policy of the Bolsheviks. The practical economic measures also had an effect on me; for one, the removal of managers who had compromised themselves. And the government's sincerity was especially evident in matters of foreign policy. The unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing that lasted a year and a half proved the Soviet government wanted to find a way out of the nuclear stalemate. This was not only a responsible political decision, it was a real landmark in the moral advance of humanity.

I realized it was the duty of all decent people, and the more so the faithful, to support the renewal of society and accept the model of new thinking in the nuclear age that Moscow is proposing."

/9738

CSO: 1812/149

### RELIGION

TASS CITES LETTER TO BBC ON RELIGION PROGRAM

LD012137 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 1 Apr 87

[Text] Moscow, 1 Apr (TASS) -- TASS news analyst Viktor Ponomarev writes:

To editor of BBC's 'Religious Programme'.

Dear Sir,

As you were told by sources from among 'human rights campaigners', Father Iosif, a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church in Vnuto village of Novgorod region has become another victim of persecutions on the part of the authorities who wanted to destroy his church.

According to BBC, the authorities brought a framed-up charge of selling icons against the priest, put him behind the bars and closed down the church.

Moreover, it turned out that the authorities ostensibly incited local hooligans to burst into the church and to tear icons from the walls.

Indignant at the reported lawlessness, I immediately went to the court where I familiarized myself with the court examination papers.

Against my will, I have to read a description of the perverted ways with which Father Iosif had satisfied his sexual desires and how he had perverted minors. The descriptions of orgies and group dissolute shameless conduct were accompanied in the testimony given by Father Iosif himself and by the youngsters perverted by him with such details that I, for certain, have a right to claim a sizeable compensation from the BBC for the moral damage done to me.

'A shame and a sin' was the meaning of everything that I had to read about.

I have no doubt that if your son, sir, turned out to be drawn into a company of homosexuals, and by a parish priest, you would not have talked about the freedom of religion but would have headed straight for the nearest police station.

I bet that your just demand to punish a lecher in soutane would not be regarded by anyone as 'persecution for faith', either in London or in the Vatican.

It is certain that this is how a minister of religion who desecrated the holy order would be treated over there.

If the matter concerns a lecher from a Russian village, is it necessary to go on air relating a horrifying tale about 'persecutions for faith'?

Does not the religion being professed by the authors of BBC's 'Religious Programme' regard desecration of the holy order and violation of criminal laws as a son?

Remaining puzzled over the motives for the deliberate deception of large audiences by the BBC. I hurry to inform you sir, that Father Iosif whose guilt was proved by the people's court did not undergo punishment for his dissolute actions with regard to minors this time for the reasons of his advanced age and is now at large.

The church in the village is still open, and divine services are held there, without Father Iosif, it is true, who has been retired and receives pension from the Moscow Patriarchate.

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CSO: 1812/149

### RELIGION

# AGITPROP OFFICIAL ON RELIGIOUS ROOTS OF NATIONALISM

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 86 pp 2-5

[Interview with Afrand Fridunovich Dashdamirov, head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the AzSSR CP Central Committee, doctor of philosophical sciences and associate member of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences, by O. Brushlinskaya, under the "Practice: Experience Plus Problems" rubric: "The Practicality of the Scientific Approach"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Our correspondent spoke with the head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the AzSSR CP Central Committee, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences and Associate Member of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences Afrand Fridunovich Dashdamirov. They discussed urgent problems related to atheistic education in light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

[Question] Afrand Fridunovich, there was talk at the 27th CPSU Congress of the need for the social sciences to meet the specific needs of practical activity on a widespread basis. Theorizing, and disregarding those real contradictions which cannot be made to fit in the Procrustean bed of dogmatic schemes, constitutes a flight from reality. They also have a negative effect on science, on all ideological work, and on atheistic training in particular. The fact is, we propagandists always find ourselves face to face with lively and active men who check our every word against their personal experience and the practice of the community.

[Answer] Yes, practice is a strict, impartial judge, and it refutes the most alluring predictions if they have not been corroborated by precise calculations; it forces us to reject customary stereotypes, and yet they still seem so convenient to us. For example, at one time, social scientists believed that religion would disappear in the not too distant future. "You see", they would say, "having put an end to exploitation, we will end the ignorance and poverty of the masses as well, and religion will die out in the process." It cannot be said that these predictions were altogether unfounded, since during the early years of Soviet power religion lost ground quickly when the underpinnings of the old society were being demolished, and during the major social transformations when masses of people broke with religion. Today, if we assess the situation realistically, as the Party requires, we can certainly say that the speed at which this happened and the forms it took in so doing turned out to be different than we expected. Socialism has ensured the

supremacy of the scientific world view in the spiritual life of Soviet society, but there are still a great many people under the influence of religion. New tendencies have manifested themselves in the activities of religious organizations, as have distinct efforts to adapt religious doctrines and the approaches used to spread them to the world of real socialism. All this should be taken into consideration in our atheist work. Unfortunately, echoes of those earlier prognostications of a rapid falling away from religion are being heard today as well, which sometimes leads to the role of atheistic training being underemphasized, and is presently affecting our attempts to conduct this training by former methods.

[Question] As you see it, how does the solving of these problems need to be approached today in your republic?

[Answer] It should be treated as a very important and serious problem which is inextricably connected with solving a whole complex of problems related to social development and culture-building, enlightenment of our people, socialist self-administration and expansion of Soviet democracy.

During the time of Soviet power, the religiosity of the population of Azerbaijan has sharply diminished, as it has in all the other republics. The spiritual life of our people has been enriched by socialist gains and the cultural achievements of all the fraternal nations. The consciousness of millions of people has been liberated, social customs have changed and new traditions and customs have appeared. These are all well-known facts, however the religiosity of some of the population, the self-styled mullahs, the holy places, are also facts. We have our achievements, but that is not what we need to talk about today. The main thing now is to take an in-depth look into what exactly fosters the reproduction of religion, and how it can still have a definite and sometimes extremely undesirable effect on people's lives and can even decide some people's destinies. Perhaps mitigating assessments of the religious situation also seem like good news to other practical workers, but they do a great deal of harm to the business of atheistic education. assessments are in fact far removed from reality. And even now there are some people who, on the example of certain activists of the 1920's, would like to get rid of religion in one fell swoop, naively assuming that it is sustained merely by religious ministers' sermons, or by the force of momentum. In so doing, they have no desire to see the connection of those features peculiar to religiosity and the level which it has attained, to definite public processes.

It is impossible to assess the religious situation in one region or another by relying on the evidence of one's eyes without doing damage to this affair. New, scientifically-validated approaches are needed, which ensure that the problems are thoroughly examined and solved.

Meanwhile, we need to admit that our social sciences--meaning primarily philosophy, sociology and social psychology--have up to now been inadequately involved in studying the causes of religiosity under socialism. We are also feeling the effects of having inadequately worked out this problem with regard to Islam, the traditional religion of our republic. We also need to direct our unwavering attention to the field of national relations, where Islam is constantly seeking a foothold. Religious and national feelings have been

intertwined throughout long periods of history, have substituted for and replenished each other, and this has been fixed firmly in the memory of generations of people. The heritage of the past makes itself felt even today, in people's behavior, social customs and conceptions of the world, and these days one hears the opinion that religion is an integral part of national life which, they say, bolsters the "national spirit". In recent years, the intelligentsia and broad strata of workers have displayed markedly increasing interest concerning their national history, as well as in the sources of the culture, traditions and customs of their nation. In a number of cases this has also stimulated an interest in religion. And science, having pointed out the true role played by religion at various times in the national history, and in the development of the national culture, must certainly make its voice heard here.

[Question] The mingling of the national with the religious and the substitution of one for the other most often occurs on the level of mass consciousness, particularly when people turn to the past. At times we see this in literature as well as in art. And this is typical not only of those who practice Islam, but also of the other religions practiced in our country. We cannot fail to note that the idealization of religion, and the aggrandizement of its role in the life of the nation are usually accompanied by nationalist attitudes and the glorification of patriarchy. How do you assess the role of religion in the nation's culture, in it's psychology?

[Answer] It is a complex combination of problems. They are connected both among themselves and with other processes and phenomena of the life of the community. The religious factor has played a definite part in consolidating, developing and establishing a number of the nations of Europe and Asia, and this is why the individual religious attributes of some peoples can be identified as manifested in their national way of life. This has been noted by both ethnographers and historians. But by and large I feel that there still has not been enough philosophical interpretation of the relation of the national and the religious in culture, spiritual life and even in social practice.

Everyone knows the historical factors associated with forming a nation and the conditions necessary for forming a stable national society. It is also widely known that religion is not one of these conditions. Religion can doubtless play a definite role in consolidating a nation in such times, for example, as a struggle for national existence is being fought while under subjection to a foreign nation. We all know of examples of the patriotic activities of certain religious entities. Thus, in its time the Catholic church played its own part in preserving the national consciousness of the Poles. Islamic slogans, for example, helped to consolidate the Algerians into a nation by urging the Algerians to preserve their culture while under colonial bondage. This is known as a Muslim culture, but we note that the cultures of Egypt, Turkey and Iran go by the very same name, and how different they are! Each of them reflects those traits characteristic only of a given nation, traits which transcend the strictures of Islam, no matter how much the Muslim theologians would like to compress them all into these constricted limits. The struggle

against religious dominance and feudal religious notions and concepts is one of the indispensable conditions for the processes of national consolidation, regardless of where they occur.

The connection between religion and nationalism is much closer here. These two are related ideological phenomena. Nationalism shuts a national community off from all the rest of the world and isolates it by restricting its national interests and values and narrowing its sphere of contact. This is precisely the way religion shuts in and isolates people, by the attributes they profess: "We are Christians," or: "We are Muslims, and we," (therefore) "are better than the others, and we conduct our lives more correctly" (this note is always present, no matter how tolerant this or that religion is to another), "and these are ours, those are theirs." And this is how nationalism and religion are alike. Here we need to add that under socialism, religion attempts to exploit the national feelings of the people, and to feed parasitically on the most conservative features of the national psychology, traditions and customs, attempting in this way to prolong its existence. Those who themselves foster nationalism often resort to religion as their last argument in defense of a misinterpreted concept of national freedom from extraneous influences.

In certain historical conditions, national feelings can find expression in religious form. However, the bases for religious feelings and feelings for one's nation are always different. Even when reflecting certain realities, religion does so in distorted ideological form, and in an inverted consciousness. Real phenomena such as economic and social processes are always clearly evident behind nationalist phenomena. And although, as we know, both nations and religion must disappear in the course of history, I am confident that the nation will have a much longer life than will religion.

[Question] The prospects for atheism look good, but the truth is that religion, for the time being, is alive, and that it gets stirred up on occasion and expands its sphere of influence.

[Answer] It is alive .... And the particular reason it is alive is related to our imperfections and the things we left undone in solving socio-economic, socio-cultural and moral problems, because our violations of the socialist principle of distribution and social justice have at times engendered a need in people to seek solace in religion....This is also akin to the area of national relations: if long-overdue solutions are not found for problems soon enough and if the specific interests of national groups and nationalities are not taken into consideration, no matter how few of them there are, attitudes can develop which "feed" religion. A typical example is the attitude to cultural heritage, to the monuments of temple architecture and mosques. soon as our attention to this question slackens (the reasons here are of no importance, even if they are because of involvement with other, extremely urgent problems), religion, as represented by its theologians, immediately turns out to be the sole protector of national property. And some people believe this. Formalism in our atheist work also helps to revive religion. These miscalculations are all ours and, speaking objectively, we have at our disposal extensive prerequisites for considerably narrowing religion's sphere of influence, and for gradually reducing the influence of religion to naught.

In order to function normally, to live a robust life and to give full expression to its national consciousness, a socialist nation has no need whatsoever of religion. We have said that everything which has happened—both the positive and the negative—in our national relations, and in the life of our nation, has public and social conditionality. The role religion can play in these areas is conditional as well. This role has a negative connotation today, as it attaches that which is obsolete and conservative to a nation's life, such as certain features of family life which long ago outlived the specific reasons which brought them into being in the first place.

Prior to the revolution, the Azerbaijani people experienced the full weight of national oppression. The national consciousness was suppressed by Islam, which strove to level the culture of the peoples which professed to believe in it, and subjugated all spiritual life to the Law of the Koran. Many of the values of the national cultural heritage were unknown to the people, having been expropriated from them. In order for there to be a national renaissance, for the nation's creative forces to develop and for the people to have access to their culture, they nad to be freed from the yoke of religious proscriptions. The culture itself had to disencumber itself of religious impositions, in order to plumb the full depths of its originality.

During the last century such brilliant representatives of the people as Mirza Patali Akhundov, and at the juncture of the last and present centuries Dzh. Mamedkulizade, M. Sabir, N. Narimanov, U. Gadzhibekov, G. Dzhavid, all came out against the dominance of Islam and its restrictions. They initiated the spiritual work which could only have succeeded under the Leninist national policy which had opened the way to enlightenment to all the peoples of Russia, and had brought about such radical social transformations in society. This process brought about more than the fruitful development of national cultures by way of socialism. There occurred an extraordinarily important event in the spriritual life of the people: the engrafting into this life of the works of the great national poets who rightfully adorn world culture, but who had heretofore been inaccessible to the illiterate masses. I refer here to Nizami, Nasimi, Khagani, Fizuli and the other poets and thinkers of genius. Their creative work is brilliant evidence of the fact that even under the rule of Islam the motifs of free thought were resounding powerfully in the literature of the East. Was religion needed for these pearls of the human spirit to be preserved or for them to be assimilated by the people? On the contrary, as I have already said, religion was a stumbling block on the masses' path to culture. There are a great many examples of this. struggle against the religious world-view and the militant materialism of those eminent cultural figures who had such a benign influence on the spiritual life of the many peoples of the Muslim East, is all part of great tradition, a tradition which deserves to be carried on today. We need to admit candidly that this wealth of ideological and moral, artistic and aesthetic values which has been permeated with high atheistic and humanistic ideals and which has played such a tremendous part in the spiritual renaissance of the Azerbaijan people, is being put to extremely poor use in our ideological practice.

During widespread social and economic transformations the problem of improving the morals and affirming high moral standards in everyday life becomes

extremely acute. This problem cannot be solved without overcoming the influence of religion on contemporary life and psychology. This is the great role which literature and art, and the creative understanding which comes from a progressive cultural heritage, must play.

Delving into the history of a people and its culture helps to better understand many contemporary events and processes, and to correctly assess their significance and their role.

[Question] It is well known that the foreign radio stations which beam their broadcasts at Azerbaijan widely propagate the idea of brotherhood and the "reunification" of the entire Muslim world, and persistently suggest to their listeners that Islam is the religion of justice and only by following the Koran, i.e., Islamic law, can they attain social well-being and genuine equality.

[Answer] The attempts of the ideological opponents of socialism to use religion to detrimental ends have become more frequent. But no matter how adroit their methods, life reveals their lack of substance. These radio stations and other means of anti-Soviet propaganda talk again and again about russification, and as proof they talk about changes in the people's way of life and the process of urbanization. In Azerbaijan, as in other republics, of course, the number of cities is growing, as are their populations. A great deal has changed in the customs of the rural inhabitants who have been resettled in the cities. Urbanization is a general sign of our times. Of course, this incurs definite changes in a nation's social outlook, and is conducive to the people's turning away from religion. But how can this be called "russification" or "destruction of the national culture"? A nation grows much like a living social organism, is enriched by the spiritual values of other peoples and makes its own contribution to the enrichment of their spiritual life. As this occurs, it is only natural that that which has outlived its time dies off, like dry oak branches.

As for "Islamic justice", the present-day life of the Muslim states wherein "total Islamization" is underway eloquently shows that this is really no more than a "panacea". Throughout its history, Islam has on more than one occasion consecrated and sanctified the most anti-popular and unjust administrations, under which all Muslims were brothers before Allah, but on Earth, these "brothers"--both previously and now--hold very different positions.

[Question] They say that idealization of the past, the call to the tranquil, "natural" life, as they call it, is a sort of reaction to accelerating scientific and technical progress, to the stepped-up rhythms of contemporary times.

[Answer] Yes, not everyone feels comfortable in an atmosphere of social and economic acceleration. The impetuous changes, the constantly renewed working conditions and the intensification of labor all require a restructuring of the personality, an increase in the volume of knowledge and improvement in the worker's professional skills. These days, a man must know how to quickly renew extensive outlays of physical, intellectual and psychic energy. Most people adapt quickly to such a situation. But not everyone. Others become

flustered, and everything that happens seems injurious to the psyche and to health. That is when we see the idealization of the past and the instinctive urge to flee from the present.

This suggests that concern for the worker and his spiritual comfort is extremely important, and that it is necessary as well to create conditions in which the personality can keep growing and where contemporary thinking can be cultivated. There is also a need for historical enlightenment and for a scientific approach in evaluating past customs and traditions. You know, I doubt if the people who miss the patriarchal way of life and who gaze tenderly at the open carriages which, as you have probably noted, take those who wish for a drive along the Baku shoreline would hardly choose it as a daily mode of transport, nor would they reject the metro. Neither would they give up television today or other appurtenances of urban culture, even if they were told to follow all the Islamic traditions.

But traditions differ, and that is why they are understood and interpreted in different ways. Here's an example. In Islam, the activity of painting was always considered to be a sin, and according to Muslim tradition "angels will not enter a house in which an artist lives". But the profession of artist is respected in present-day Azerbaijan, and the followers of Islam do not condemn artists.

It is commonly known that city life makes social contact difficult, and we are striving to snow support for traditional forms of contact, which will help correct this situation. By organizing meetings of people with similar interests and occupations, we are relying on the traditions of bygone years. We have succeeded in gaining new experience here and have devised interesting ways for people to get in touch.

[Question] Afrand Fridunovich, you have touched on a great many important fundamental problems, but the conversation has for the most part been held to the theoretical level. What do you have to say in this regard about the practice of atheistic education in the republic? How do you assess the religious situation, and what sort of unresolved problems and shortcomings are you aware of?

[Answer] Any of my reflections that I could talk about would be somewhat abstract, so it would be easier to translate them into the language of facts and specific events, since by understanding them we can draw the conclusions needed in practice.

I have already given you a partial answer. To what I have already said I should add that religious rites are becoming increasingly important in everyday life, and there are a great many women, young people and certain members of the intelligentsia who are influenced by Muslim traditions. This is primarily due to deficiencies in our ideological and political work in labor collectives and people's homes and the absence of a universal, and at the same time differentiated, system of atheistic propaganda. The lag in solving social problems, the lack of attention given to meeting people's needs and people's increasing spiritual interests are taking their toll. The 27th CPSU Congress has set high goals for social development, and has directed

party, state, trade-union, Komsomol and economic agencies to make an energetic effort in this direction. It is now a matter of implementing the decisions which have been taken. Atheistic work must be performed in indissoluble connection with the building of the society and the culture, this being one of the main conditions which must be met for it to be effective.

In the letter written by the journalist D. Nukhbalayeva, which was published in your journal (Footnote 1) (Reference to the correspondence "What Brings Success?", NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 1, 1986), he mentioned some serious shortcomings in atheistic work and at the same time pointed out a vital experiment in enthusiastic creative work. It is important that positive tendencies be developed in the practice of atheistic training and education, so that it becomes a permanent part of the work of the ideological aktiv. Another thing which is needed is an exacting approach to the manner in which the potential accumulated in our cultural and educational institutions, lecture agencies and national universities is used, and we need to find out if the work being done in the clubs is being performed primitively or formally, whether the lectures reflect current events and whether they are related to the actual religious situation locally. We understand that if the self-styled mullahs are at work in the republic, then no matter how much we would like to explain this as being motivated by their exclusively personal mercenary motives, we need to see the other causes as well: where the demand exists, there are mullahs. Their miserable acts can be denounced and suppressed whenever they violate the worship laws and we can announce in the press that we are doing so, but others will come in to take the place of those who have been denounced, reported in the press and jailed for this activity. But they are not all imposters. What we need to do here is get to the root cause and find out why there is still a demand for mullahs. We know at least one reason for certain, and that is the need to invest the most important events of human life with a ritualized, religious form.

For the time being, Islam has firm footnolds in this regard. Funerals are almost entirely under the authority of ministers of religion. And why is this? There are two principle reasons: organizational-material and emotional. We have failed to devise our own alternative to this ritual. Organization is useful in seeing that the affair is nandled correctly, and decisive actions are needed here; something needs to be done so that people, at least those who are fundamentally opposed to the Muslim funeral, can manage without it. And in fact it has sometimes happened that because of a lack of organizational structure they have been forced to resort to the mosque for help.

The emotional side is more complex. Our civil funerals, I admit, are still not up to the religious funerals with regard to combining the ritual with the emotional, both of which confront people at the moment they cross paths with death. Perhaps this is where the approaches were found. And again there arises the philosophical problem of man's attitude to death, mainly his own death. The concept of an end to life, if it has taken hold of a person, is a frightful burden for the unprepared mind, and we are not educating people about this. Meanwhile it is tremendously important in forming the atheistic attitude. Philosophers have meditated and reflected on death, mostly on a global plane, but the question needs to be understood in personal terms. Somehow, it is not a customary topic of conversation. But priests and mullahs

talk about it, they prepare people for the idea of death and lessen their moral suffering with the promise of a recompense beyond the grave. We need to create the kind of moral supports in a person's spiritual world which will help him and those near to him at the tragic moment.

It is difficult to form new thinking about this question: we are entering an exceptionally subtle, delicate area, where there are powerful ancient traditions of a mystic relation to death. But we need to seek. It is necessary that no discord is sown in the spirit of reflection on the finiteness of one's existence. The sages did not fear impending death, nor did they beg the supernatural forces for death to be postponed or for a paradise after death. The great moral example was their attitude to completing life's journey. Engels asked that his ashes be scattered in the sea. Konstantin Simonov had his scattered in a field near Mogiley, where he had taken part in battles and had looked death in the face on more than one occasion. And remember Lafargov.

It is not enough to say over and over to people that life beyond the grave is an illusion. But unfortunately, we are still not yet learning how to relate with dignity to this whole complicated and delicate complex of problems. Through the ages religion itself has, extremely skillfully, taken the psychology of people into account, worked out a ritual and selected, if you will, the necessary words. Social custom has great power as well: the way most people think that there is only one proper way to bury a person. These customs are emotionally anchored within the ordinary consciousness. Here again, there must be no sort of idealization of religion whatsoever. The mullahs certainly have no lack of self interest: easily playing on the vanity of today's petty bourgeoisie, they willingly break with religious traditions. When they see the opulence of some memorials and even the similarities of the mausoleums in the burial grounds, they forget that a Muslim tomb is supposed to be modest and inconspicuous, so that in time it erodes away to ground level.

I believe atheist propaganda should place more emphasis on psychology, on man's interior world. It should implant a taste for philosophy in people and, I would say, for philosophizing as an elevated form of spiritual intercourse. I also see this as one way to individualize educational work. Not that we should lay down the law for everyone, but we should deal with people as on a one-to-one basis and give consideration to the special features of their individual psychology. Literature and art have tremendous potentialities at their disposal on this plane. It is easier for them to work their way into the specific character of a nation or an individual and they have more avenues for expressing concepts that are difficult to put into scientific language.

National holidays, rituals and ceremonies doubtless have a lot of atheistic potential. For example, the Azerbaijanis genuinely worship poetry, and are particularly sensitive to words of wisdom and beauty, so we organize competitions between the ashugs, improvisational singers, and hold folklore festivals and Poetry Days featuring whole constellations of great wordmasters. When a respected person, such as a poet or writer, expresses himself in atheist terms, his words carry a lot of weight in our overall propaganda work.

There are techniques presently being used in this work which I feel are hopelessly obsolete and are no longer capable of having any effect whatsoever. One of them can be defined by the specific Russian word "popoyedstvo", or ["priest-eating"]. Instead of profound, well-reasoned criticism of Islam itself, and the harmful social customs and traditions it has spawned and consecrated, instead of discussing superstitions and delusions, some journalists and lecturers would sometimes rather castigate some old fox of a mullah or sheikh, at times for the same things as are censured within Islam as well, and which could be dealt with just as well outside of religion. Life shows us that the most that this kind of propaganda can do is to cause a dishonest, morally unscrupulous minister of religion to be replaced by someone more suitable for the job.

The urgency of the religious situation is still being underestimated here. This stems from a feeling of confidence that religious prejudices have no particular negative effect on the life of the community or the individual. This is wrong. Religious views and feelings in these circumstances do not in fact come into existence all by themselves, but are connected with displays, both of private ownership as well as nationalism, with the two being intertwined and feeding each other, and both of them together doing great harm to the individual as well as to the community. And if a consistent and principled struggle is not waged against them, we may see an increase in their negative influence. This is why narrowly comprehended antireligious work has no effect. We have to struggle resolutely against all deficiencies concerning morals, the economy, social practice, and against any manifestation of injustice. This will provide new reserves of social and moral activity. Life itself has brought on this situation, and it has been corroborated by the battle against negative occurrences which is now being fought in the republic.

The asserting of the atheist world view is an important moment in the emancipation of man's spiritual capabilities and in ridding the personality's moral potential of those negative emotions and religious taboos which impede the realization of man's creative abilities. Atheism opposes all the different kinds of religious cults with the cult of reason and the idea of the harmonious development of man by all means possible; it stands against religious obstacles to international intercourse with collectivism and broad exchanges of experience, and material and spiritual values; it opposes religious submission with creative human activity, socialist self administration of the nation and the active personality which sees itself as a subject of history and thus comprehends its responsibility to society, to the past and to the future.

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#### RELIGION

## CONTINUING RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS NOTED IN GEORGIAN SVANETIA

Tbilisi KOMMUNIST GRUZII in Russian No 11, No 86 (signed to press 3 Nov 86) pp 66-68

[Article by N. Glubiani: "For Effective Antireligious Propaganda"]

[Text] Considerable importance is attached to overcoming religious prejudice in the steady improvement of various aspects of the socialist way of life. The fundamental position regarding this problem is one that has been defined clearly and quite unequivocally. "In advocating strict adherence to the constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience, the party condemns any attempt to utilize religion to the detriment of the interests of society and the individual. The most important component part of atheistic upbringing entails a higher degree of labor and public activity on the part of the people, education of the people, and a broad dissemination of new Soviet rituals" (Program of the CPSU. New edition ). It is generally recognized that overcoming religious experiences of the past is a complicated and lengthy process. Moreover, that process is not at all that simple in the mountainous regions. For example, in Svanetia in particular not only have elements of Christian beliefs been retained, but various forms of primitive religion and religious daily traditions and customs as well that are closely intertwined with other relics of the past.

The changes that have occurred during the Soviet period radically changed the way of life in Svanetia. However, there are still villages in which religion still maintains its strength and influence. This can be confirmed by the fact that a certain segment of the population in the villages of Ushguli, Kali, and Ipari hampered the shipment of historical treasures from Svanetia to Tbilisi that were to be exhibited. An exhibit entitled "From the Treasure Trove of Svanetia" was staged at the Georgian State Museum of Art from May 24 to June 8, 1983. On display at the exhibit were 33 icons and crucifixes, three manuscripts from the Svanetia Historical and Ethnographic Museum, three icons from the Etserpkheter Church and five embossed icon crucifixes from Tskhumar Church. The exhibit was visited by participants of an international symposium on Georgian art, and by Soviet and foreign art critics. They had high praise for the exhibit displays.

Unfortunately, icons from the churches of Ushguli, Kali, and Ipari were not displayed at the exhibit. In that connection the newspaper AKHALI SVANETI wrote that a certain segment of the local population as well as certain

leaders still do not realize the genuine significance of these treasures of material culture. They would prefer to leave them uncared for and are not too worried about their becoming soiled. Their only concern is that no foreign hand should touch those relics. That is intolerable, wrote the newspaper, because no one has been given the right to decide the fate of priceless national relics whether it be for private interests or religious zeal.

Today there are no official custodians for the churches and other monuments of material culture in Svanetia, but there is no shortage of self-styled persons (so-called "mullahzons") who for their own mercenary purposes organize religious holidays and perform cult rituals themselves. Many people, especially young people, who arrive for the holiday celebrations are at first attracted to the ceremonies either out of curiosity or just to pass the time, but then often become active participants in the religious rituals. The growth in the numbers of such persons has led to a revival of religious celebrations during which drunkenness results in a host of anti-social excesses and the commission of crimes.

In our opinion, one of the reasons for the retention of religiosity in Svanetia is, along with other factors, the conservatism of mountain dwellers that stems from the certain exclusiveness of their life style and their adherence to traditions. That is enhanced by the specific nature of religious ideology which, according to F. Engels, is itself conservative. "Once religion sprouts forth," wrote F. Engels, "it will always keep material bequeathed from the past inasmuch as its ideological tradition represents a powerful conservative force in each area."

The conservatism of religion makes it particularly viable in Svanetia where religious traditions change very slowly and disappear even more slowly because of the retained fidelity to customs and manners.

It should be emphasized in that connection that women are considerably stronger custodians of household piety than men. That circumstance must be fully taken into consideration if we wish to get to the roots of religious vitality.

An important factor in mountain villages (just as in other places, incidentally), for effective atheist indoctrination is the development of human social activity and the inclusion of people into a collective process of national production. Consequently, the direct involvement of women in socially useful activities and their recruitment into collective labor will become an effective condition of atheist indoctrination. In addition, one may make use of holidays honoring mothers of large families such as "Mother's Day," or "Motherhood Day." (Incidentally, this type of holiday has been celebrated in the Zugdinskiy Rayon since 1983). Moreover, there are good reasons for this kind of holiday in Svanetia since it is well known as a region of large families. In Upper Svanetia alone there are over 600 mothers with large families of whom 11 have been awarded the honorable title "Mother-Hero." There are hundreds of mothers with large families who live and work in Lower Svanetia. They are actively participating in social life, in

cultural endeavors as well as in the area of education, health, the national economy, etc. All of this makes it morally correct to initiate a local holiday here that glorifies motherhood for which invitations would also be extended to those who live outside the region who, by their honest toil, would amplify the holiday's glory. This holiday could probably be instituted on the days of major religious festivals such as "Skaldoba" (Lower Svanetia) and "Kvirikoba" (Upper Svanetia).

In general, it seems to us that the struggle against religion in Svanetia should be activated by a struggle against religious holidays since they constitute an active method of either formulating religious convictions or at least a very easy and convenient way to win people over to those convictions. At the same time, more attention must be given to the establishment of new, contemporary socialist holidays and traditions and to the enrichment of their substance and improvement of their forms.

Many national holidays have emerged in our republic to take the place of religious festivals. Those holidays have been recognized and received with approval by the people. Some of those holidays reflect the heroic past of the Georgian people while other holidays deal with the present. All of them, however, are imbued with a profound sense of humanism and internationalism. They entail a high degree of cognitive value and can well serve the cause of instilling patriotism, a sense of national dignity of the Soviet people, etc.

There has been considerable experience gained in Svanetia in the implementation of such measures. Thus, a physical culture and athletic holiday of youth and courage has been held in Mestia since 1978 to honor the memory of the famous mountain climber Mikhail Khergiani. Since 1981 the village of Latali has been celebrating a youth holiday dedicated to the famous photographic artist, mountain climber, and journalist Guram Tikanadze who perished in an attempt to the reach the peak of Mt. Shkhar. In Lower Svanetia, a labor holiday that coincides with the start of the hay-mowing season has been celebrated since 1979, etc. Each of those holidays are full of new socialist content. However, the level at which they are celebrated leaves much to be desired. Devoid of esthetics, they cannot have the emotional impact that is needed to compete with religious holidays. Moreover, they are not celebrated on the same days as religious holidays so do not in fact offer any opposition.

An active struggle against religious holidays and customs in Svanetia and their replacement by new socialist ones is also made necessary by the fact that they are attended by a large number of both young people and children.

In Svanetia the school is the principal focus for the atheistic upbringing of teenagers and young pupils. The pedagogical collective and the teachers, along with the instruction of subjects stipulated by the program, must be comprised of atheist propagandists without fail. A major role should be given to excursions to local folklore museums and churches that contain various cultural historical relics. The pupils should be told that an icon or

crucifix bears a specific social commitment and propagandizes ideas and views that fulfill a major educational role. Along with that, the school children must understand that the religious perception of artistic creativity is groundless and the liberation of art from the control of religion is by the same token an important factor that is conducive to both progress in artistic creativity and the emancipation of the human conscience from the harmful influence of religion.

The enormous restructuring that is taking place in Svanetia along with the changes in the life style of this region constitute an objective foundation for overcoming religious prejudice and other harmful relics of the past.

6289

CSO: 1830/374

### CULTURE

'DISTORTED' NATIONALIST VIEWS OF CULTURE CRITICIZED

PM221439 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 87 First Edition p 2

[Article by S. Andreyev under the "From the Last Mail Delivery" rubric: "Criteria Substitution"]

[Text] "Whither The 'Common Stream'"--this is the headline of an article by Professor S. Kaltakhchyan, RSFSR honored academic, published in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA for 17 March. It says that V.I. Lenin's ideas on the treatment of the cultural heritage and patriotism are sometimes distorted in works of literary criticism and writings in journals.

This trend has a history. Back in the sixties, when there was a natural surge of interest among Soviet nations and ethnic groups in their past, some people displayed a desire to examine the historical development of artistic culture as a "common stream" and began to proclaim and attempt to demonstrate the "integrity of each national culture." These concepts, which contradict the widely known Leninist theory of "two cultures" in a society of class antagonism are reflected and developed in articles and books by a multitude of writers, historians, literary experts, and critics.

The writer of the article in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA dwells in detail on recent journal items by V. Kozhinov and A. Kuzmin. They make abundant use of Leninist phraseology to achieve an effect that is essentially opposite to Lenin's. The very subtitle of V. Kozhinov's piece in the journal MOSKVA, "On Lenin's Concept of National Culture," misleads the reader, because this is simply not a separate Leninist concept. Only by wishful thinking is it possible to suppose, as V. Kozhinov does, that straight after the revolution V.I. Lenin revised his views of the contradictory and dichotomous nature of culture in a bourgeois society and reached the conclusion that the victorious proletariat must accept the entire culture of the past.

The writers of the pieces under scrutiny are essentially eschewing Marxist criteria and the class approach to the cultural heritage by reviving the myth of the "common stream" of national culture, in particular Russian culture. And one can find parallels with these antihistorical views in certain theoretical works that have appeared in national republics.

As S. Kaltakhchyn notes, Great October gave rise to a new patriotism which merges with proletarian, socialist internationalism. And no considerations of historical, "genetic" continuity can justify substituting nationalism and idealization of patriarchalism for patriotism.

/9738

CSO: 1800/493

### POET RECEIVES LETTER FROM IRANIAN AZERI COLLEAGUE

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 12 December 1986 carries on page 4 a poem by the Iranian Azeri poet Sonmaz, which is published under the rubric "A Gift From the South." The poem is accompanied by excerpts from a letter he wrote to the Soviet Azeri poet Nabi Khazri, by one of whose poems he was inspired. Sonmaz states in his letter (dated 25 October 1986): "When I finished reading your poem 'In Twoness,' I was inspired to write an imitation of it and answer to it which I dedicate to you." The title of the poem is "You did not say there is also a poet in the South."

### POETRY COLLECTION 'MY TABRIZ' REVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 19 December 1986 carries on page 6 a 2300-word review by Azaroghlu of Suleyman Rustam's book of poetry "My Tabriz," which is also the title of the review. It is a collection of his works concerning Iranian Azerbaijan written between the early 1940's, when he served in the Red Army in Iranian Azerbaijan, to 1985. Numerous lines from his poetry are cited reflecting Tabriz's turbulent history during the Sattarkhan uprising (1907-1911) through the Second World War, the postwar period when Azeri was banned, the fall of the Shah, and Rustam's post-1979 poetic exchanges with Iranian Azeri poets. The reviewer concludes that "his heart beats with equal love for both parts of the Fatherland."

# IMPORTANCE OF NEW MANUSCRIPT INSTITUTE DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 21 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 1200-word interview with Jahangir Gahramanov, who was named director of the recently formed Manuscripts Institute of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences; the interview's title is "A Monument From Our Ancestors." The new institute was organized on the foundations of the Republic Manuscript Fund. Gahramanov stressed the institute's ideological importance: "The wide range of duties in creative work and the education of the new man and the progress of world events has placed complex obligations before the social sciences. These demand deep research and content analysis of the important questions of ideology and history. It is clear that thoughtfully giving attention to national cultural traditions and maintaining an accurate relationship to the gifts from our ancestors is an important component of ideological work."

## SOUTHERN AZERBAIJAN LITERATURE COUNCIL FORMED

[Editorial Report] Baru ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 26 December 1986 carries an unsigned 200-word note on the formation of the Southern Azerbaijan Literature Council by the secretariat of the Azerbaijan Writers Union. Sabir Amirov, a literature specialist and candidate in philological sciences, was elected chairman and Rovshan Valiyev responsible secretary. The reason for its establishment is that "a great need is felt today for the wide propagation and study of the works of Southern Azeri writers who write of their love for the motherland and their concern for and defense of the mother tongue, and who sing of their desires for peace, friendship, faithfulness and love."

/12913

CSO: 1830/400

PAPER FOLLOWS UP ITEM ON PSYCHIATRY 'ABUSES'

PM251241 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 24 Mar 87 p 4

["Social Problems Department" article under the rubric "Continuing a Topic": "Following 'Criminal Diagnosis'"]

[Text] "It was with great bitterness in my soul that I read in your newspaper V. Andriyanov's essay 'Criminal Diagnosis' (SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 31 January and 1 February). The only gratifying aspect is that this topic has finally been tackled" (V. Yemelyanov, Vilnius). "I want to say a tremendous thank-you to the newspaper for the courage, honesty, and principledness with which you came out against the use of psychiatry for criminal mercenary purposes" (G. Makhanko, Voroshilovgrad). "I do not take your newspaper. was brought to me literally for a little while by my pensioner neighbor, who had been brought it by someone else among her acquaintances. Why am I writing this? In order to emphasize how tired honest people have become of all kinds of slick operators and bribetakers, and people are pleased that the time has come at last when the struggle against rogues and baseness and for the interests of the people and the state has begun to be waged not in words or in empty prattle about truth and openness but in practice. I demand that the cost of treating false patients be recovered from those who send them to clinics and that all who have sullied their name be stripped of their medical diplomas forever" (T. Kan).

We have not specially selected these letters. There are dozens just like them. From Moscow and Saransk, Gorkiy and Odessa, Kemerovo and Staryy Oskol.... Readers share the newspaper's stance and consider it necessary to instill the strictest order in court psychiatric expertise and in the organization of the psychiatric service. The tone of this mail is gratifying. It also attests that a new moral atmosphere, in which no zones or subjects are closed to criticism, is taking shape in the country.

Of course, the editors awaited with understandable interest the letters from psychiatrists, specialists, and employees of health centers and clinics. How would they respond? The general mood of this section of the mail is conveyed well by extracts from two letters: "On reading your article I concluded that I had no right to keep silent any longer" (K. Sizova, Yegoryevsk, Moscow Oblast). "I have never written to a newspaper, but I now want to share what worries me and what you are concerned about" (V. Kulikova, Kalinin).

These and many other writers are worried about violations and crimes analogous to those mentioned in "Criminal Diagnosis." They write about criminals taking refuge from investigation in psychiatric hospitals, about illegal certificates for preferential living space, about the groundless establishment of a disability group. Of course, every such case requires careful checking. And the editors have sent a number of letters to the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office, the Ukrainian SSR Prosecutor's Office, and local offices.

Against a background of anxious mail from doctors who have found within themselves the civic courage to come out against corporative covering up, a letter written "on the instructions of a working meeting of the collective of the court psychiatric department of Moscow's P.P. Kashchenko NolCity Clinical Psychiatric Hospital" stands out because of its unprincipled nature. "...Despite the court's verdict, a large section of our collective is still convinced of Yu. L. Massover's innocence," the letter states. "We comrades at work know him well as an honest and unselfish person—which is incompatible with the crime of which he is accused. The sentence on Yu. L Massover has not yet been confirmed by the Moscow City Court, and we very much hope that it will be reviewed at that level."

The newspaper has not written about the criminal responsibility of Yu. Massover, former chairman of the No 6 Outpatient Court Psychiatric Expert Commission at the Kashchenko Hospital. He was found guilty of taking bribes, and the court will determine the degree of his responsibility. We were interested in Yuriy Lvovich's moral makeup.

"Yu I. Massover," the letter states, "was always solicitous toward his mother.... However, in recent years his mother began to write crazy letters to various bodies, claiming that her son was 'poisoning and robbing' her. The court case arose in this connection..."

Let us elaborate: It did not arise of its own accord. It was instituted by the son, who applied to the court to have his mother declared incapable. And he attached a certificate from the commission at the Kashchenko Psychiatric Hospital, where he himself works. However, a second expert appraisal conducted at the Serbskiy Scientific Research Institute did not confirm that conclusion. "Yu. I. Massover's mother was deemed capable by the court, which fact he did not dispute so as not to traumatize a sick person still more..." the letter goes on to say. What touching concern! First a letter to the court to have his mother, a party member since 1930, declared incapable, and then "not to traumatize." And Yu. Massover's protectors hold this to his credit. Well, according to such logic, "Yu. I. Massover's relations with his two wives" must also be held up as an example of morality. He "showed himself here too a profoundly decent person." In what, then, does this decency consist? And what, then, is moral unscrupulousness?

The letter also states that the Moscow City Outpatient Court Psychiatric Expert Commission "has for many years enjoyed deserved respect both among doctors and among personnel concerned with law and order."

Permit us to disagree with that self-advertising conclusion. The opinion of law officers is quite clearly expressed in the Moscow City Prosecutor's Office's repeated submissions to the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Health Care Administration. The conclusions of expert commissions are increasingly frequently giving rise to valid doubts in courts, too. And as regards doctors themselves, the experienced experts L.I. Ovsyannikova and A.M. Varovikova and N.A. Nivokova, secretary of the Court Psychiatric Expert Commission, demonstratively left the meeting at which the newspaper article was discussed. They were indignant at their colleagues' unscrupulousness and the mutual covering up and alarmed at the atmosphere that had become established in the clinic, in which people fear reprisals for criticism. And not just administrative reprisals.... The hospital's party organization and Moscow's Sovetskiy CPSU Raykom have something to think about.

Comrades who worked alongside Massover speak about the system of telephone calls and notes flourishing in his commission. Someone used persistently to send testees only to the No 6 Commission, frequently even before a criminal case was taken to court. Who was interested in the necessary diagnosis? Whom did Massover receive following calls and notes? Who was directing the No 6 Commission's affairs from the wings? We hope an investigation will answer these questions, too.

Ridding society of distortions of socialist morality and broadening openness, criticism, and self-criticism are part of the restructuring under way in the country. No collective must remain aloof from it. Of course, the reassessment of values is not to everyone's liking. Favoritism and nepotism toward friends and relatives have put down deep roots and ensnared certain collectives. Their maturity is being verified today. Verified by the truth.

People in very different countries are following with hope and interest the renewal of our society and the way in which our moral values are being revived. Both friends and enemies are following this. Some derive strength from our society's renewal and from the lessons of truth, while others distort and misrepresent them for their own ends.

"The Soviet newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA has now admitted for the first time the fact of the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes in the USSR," DEUTSCHE WELLE responded to our articles. Its commentary is slander from the first to the last sentence. This applies to arguments about "compulsory treatment of many law defenders and prisoners of conscience, particularly members of the unofficial peace movement" created out of DEUTSCHE WELLE's delirious imagination. And to juggling with names. And to disregard of the simple fact that it is a question of crime, of abuses of official position....

The dirty "wave" ["Welle" in German] is true to itself. The worth of such speculations is well known. The eminent Greek psychiatrist Kostas Stefanis, president of the World Psychiatric Association, accurately said during our recent meeting in Moscow:

"The truth from the Soviet Union dispels anti-Soviet propaganda."

Mr Stefanis was a participant in the Moscow forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for Mankind's Survival"; he warmly shares the forum's ideas and the policy of nuclear disarmament, and he does a great deal to bring to people's awareness an understanding of the disastrous nature of nuclear war. He spoke enthusiastically of the democratization processes in our society, of good contacts with Soviet medics, and of his path into psychiatry—from sociology and psychology. K. Stefanis familiarized himself with SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA's articles.

"There can be abuses in any profession," he remarked. "They are even possible in psychiatry or, say, surgery and oncology, when unscrupulous people are led along by criminals. These manifestations must be reduced to a minimum. I think an ethical court, a court of psychiatrists' honor, which would stand guard over our profession's moral purity, could be created in every country."

A sensible suggestion, we believe, and not just for psychiatrists.

We will conclude these notes in the margin of letters with what is almost the most frequent request: not to place the final period: "It is necessary to tell readers what punishment was meted out to the persons you named" (V. Protsenko, N. Kleymenova, M. Akhmadulina, N. Zelenina, and I. Voronin, workers at the "Buzulukneft" Oil- and Gas-extracting Administration). "What has changed essentially in the practice of court psychiatric expertise and in clinics? What measures have been taken by the USSR Ministry of Health, the RSFSR Ministry of Health, and the party committees of Moscow and Moscow Oblast?" (I. Uvarov, Chelyabinsk).

The newspaper awaits the answer to these questions together with its readers. The editors know that answers are being prepared. In particular, the RSFSR Ministry of Health, according to a report by Deputy Minister V.G. Panov, intends to examine the questions raised in "Criminal Diagnosis" in the ministry's collegium. A comprehensive check of subordinate establishments is now being conducted. So we will not place the final period.

/8309

CSO: 1830/408

PARTY, PROCURACY HELP POLICE OFFICIAL SHIELD GUILTY WIFE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Mar 87 p 4

[Article by M. Kushtapin, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondent, Novgorod-Moscow: "'My Husband Will Show You!..': A Story About How Two Life Styles Collided"]

[Text] Volodya Kotov and I stopped on the bridge. The frosty February wind could be especially felt there. It was snowing, and myriads of snowflakes drowned without a trace in the smooth black water. Winter had shackled the Volkhov along the banks, but the middle was clear, without any ice.

"Our Volkhov has character," Kotov said proudly. "You can't hide anything under the ice."

"The current?" I suggested.

"Yes, the current," Kotov confirmed. "Because the water is alive... But we didn't get to the obkom. The militiaman stopped us only. He had not made a mistake. He had apparently been given our names. 'It is not authorized,' he said. 'You were not told to come...'"

Then he fell silent. We continued to walk in silence all the way to the hotel. For different reasons: from his silence one could guess how he had been expecting the conversation that he had not been authorized to have, and how important it had been for this 25-year-old fellow, a mechanic at Volkhovagrompromsnab, a Komsomol member, a nonstaff OBKhSS [Section for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation] associate at the Oktyabrskiy ROVD [Rayon Internal Affairs Department] in the city of Novgorod, and public inspector at the oblast people's control committee -- he really had a lot of responsibilities!.. But I remained silent because of awkwardness -- I had promised the authors of a letter to the editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA that we would definitely meet at the party's oblast committee and then, all together, we would discuss the questions that they had raised. But at the last minute the apparatus workers made a change in those plans -- they said that Kotov, the chief initiator of the letter, was too young and also was not a party member. And as for the others... Putting it succinctly, none of the authors of the letter had been called.

The following is an excerpt from the letter to the editor:

"On 17 June 1986 we -- nonstaff OHKhSS associates at the Oktyabrskiy HOVD and members of a Komsomol 'druzhina,' V. Kotov, S. Lisko, V. Lyudayev, M. Lashkov, I. Korotayeva, M. Krylova, and M. Ivanov -- while carrying out a raid at the Novgorod Meat-Packing Plant, detained, among others, bookkeeper M. L. Antonova, who had in her possession three bags of cervelat, carbonado, fillet steaks, and boiled sausage. As for the 'others,' they have served their punishment and admitted their guilt. They were sentenced by a comrades' court and made monetary restitution. But as for Antonova, on the basis of the materials pertaining to the raid, the Oktyabrskiy Rayon procurator's office initiated a criminal case, since the extent of the theft was substantial. On 5 November the case, with an indictment, was sent to the rayon people's court, but on 6 November it was sent on demand to the oblast procurator's office, where it was subsequently closed and put into the inactive files. No one has made the slightest attempt to explain anything to anyone -- to us, to rayon procurator G. A. Sermyazhko, or the NOVGORODSKAYA PRAVDA, which on 14 October had printed a sharply worded article, entitled 'Petty Thieves,' setting forth the facts about the raid. But, strictly speaking, what was there to explain? During her detention, in front of all those honest people, kept shouting. 'My husband will show you!..,' referring to the fact that she was carrying the meat products -- would you believe! -- at his request. The husband of this plunderer of socialist property is a major of militia, and the chief of the Financial Planning Department of the UVD [Internal Affairs Administration] of the oblispolkom... The result is that Antonova continues to work at the meatprocessing plant, and we, the members of the public who detained her with the cervelat in her possession, have proved to be practically slanderers... turns out that instead of her being the one to be ashamed to look people in the eyes, we are the ones! But is this really the only thing to be considered? V. Kotov and other participants in the raid."

"Well, we are not mad at you," Kotov said, guessing my mood. "Because we knew that they wouldn't let us get to the obkom..."

Whether or not he had known, he had put on his best suit, a white shirt, and a necktie... He had apparently been hoping for changes. But now he was walking along and not even asking what had been decided at the party's obkom on the basis of their letter. Because the case that Kotov and his comrades had been pushing had apparently shifted from its standstill... A lot of hot words had been said at that meeting -- words dealing with the "inadmissible red tape." And there had been assurances that "everything will be investigated in the most careful manner." And there had been a demonstration of that readiness to "party evaluation" about the situation. Everything was, as the expression goes, in the spirit of restructuring.

But while, behind closed doors, all these correct principles were being stated, in the obkom vestibule Stepan Lisko, a participant in that raid and a comrade of Kotov's (he also had signed the letter) mildly instructed Volodya, telling him "you have to know your place."

Incidentally, in our long discussions during my official trip, Kotov used the word "restructuring" sparingly. The word that crept into his remarks most

frequently was "justice." That was apparently his favorite word... It must be noted that he did not, as the expression goes, fret too much about the very fact of the unpleasant thief. And if he did talk about the raid, it was only with the purpose of directing attention to the everyday behavior of those who had been detained with the products produced at the meat-processing plant. And this is the kind of unattractive picture that came out of his story.

Much is stolen at the meat-processing plant, and a lot of people do the stealing. That is no secret to anyone. Last year, according to party buro secretary S. V. Kozhevnikov, formal papers were prepared for 154 cases of detention of meat-processing plant workers with meat products. That figure is the official one -- the true scope of the thefts is many times greater. The persons detained, fined, sentenced, and punished are by no means all the guilty ones. One might ask, "Where do the guards look?" The guards there are also are not being cheated of their fair share. Once Kotov's group was inspecting the janitors' lockers. They removed from them so many meat products that they did not fit onto the cart. But that raid also ended in the most unexpected manner. After arriving in response to a telephone call by the janitors themselves, Senior Lieutenant Ganeyev of the Oktyabrskiy Department of Nondepartmental Protection attempted to calm the janitors down, telling them not to be afraid about anything and not to sign any documents, and as for them -- jerking his head disdainfully in the direction of the raid participants -- he would deal with them himself. Okay, now, let me see your documents!

"That's what galls me most of all," welder and Communist Party member M. G. Ivanov told this correspondent about the atmosphere in the collective. "If one of us workers took a piece of sausage, we would skin him alive. And it would serve him right -- you're not supposed to steal! But the workers see something else: anyone who is a leader with even the slightest responsibility is openly stealing meat products practically with impunity..."

Chief of OBKhSS, Oktyabrskiy ROVD V. N. Filatov repeatedly received operational reports about the stealing of meat products at the meat-processing plant, and the name of bookkeeper Antonova appeared in them frequently. Vladimir Nikolayevich, of course, knew her husband -- chief of the Financial Planning Department of the oblispolkom UVD, N. D. Antonov. Once Filatov had met Antonov at the administration and given him advice which, albeit ambiguous, was beneficial: "Nikolay Dmitriyevich, tell your wife not to leave work at the same time that everyone else does, because my feilows frequently carry out unannounced inspections there, and they might accidentally detain..." However, Nikolay Dmitriyevich indicated by his entire enraged appearance that he would not tolerate insulting hints like that in the future.

"I don't know," Filatov says today in his discussion with this correspondent, "whether the times had changed, or whether I felt that I was somehow losing my subordinates' respect -- the fellows under me are young and obstinate, and I myself selected ones who would be honest and well-principled -- but in early June I instructed my associates: they were not to be embarrassed by the name of any - rker at the meat-processing plant. To tell the truth, I was already sick of having the militia looking red-faced because of Antonova." Those were the thoughts to which that individual fact had led the chief of the rayon

OBKhSS. It was not about Antonova as such that he was thinking in this situation, but about the honor of the militia...

That ill-starred raid was a routine one. But the next day an uproar was raised at the Oktyabrskiy ROVD. Enraged UVD Major N. D. Antonov demanded that Filatov and his nonstaff associates be punished for having illegally detained his wife. Nikolay Dmitriyevich even addressed reports containing those demands to two administrators of the oblast UVD.

"Of course, I am not Kotov," V. N. Filatov admitted with noticeable regret. "Life has repeatedly forced me to make compromises. I'll tell you honestly that that morning I had had a pathetic little idea which, I realize now, does not do me any justice: I suggested to Antonov that he could take his wife off the job at the meat-processing plant -- we could think up some reason so that there would be no publicity about it. He would have nothing to do with that idea! 'She's been working there, and she's going to keep working there!' Nikolay Dmitriyevich shouted."

Nevertheless the materials pertaining to the raid were officially requested by the procurator's office of Oktyabrskiy Rayon. A criminal case was brought against Antonova. The investigation was proceeding when investigator G. A. Shestyayeva was unexpectedly asked to come to the party's obkom by A. P. Soldatov, an instructor at the Administrative Agencies Department. For some reason Aleksey Petrovich had been disturbed by a question which obviously should not have been within his competency -- would the investigator's proof be convincing for the court? What was Shestyayeva's attitude toward that discussion?

"What was I supposed to think?" the investigator told this correspondent. "I had been called, so I went there. Whatever they asked me, I told them. I'm a small person and I'm not used to asking obkom workers questions...

Well, why argue that? The city's deputy procurator, B. A. Lyapin, during our discussion, let something similar drop. "The rayon procurator's indictment, in my opinion, was convincing. But as to why the oblast procurator's office revoked it, I shall make no attempt to judge. We are subordinate people. If they give us an instruction, we are obliged to execute it..."

"We're small people, we're subordinates" and "My husband will show you!" -those words belong in the same social and psychological category. Without
that self-disparagement, without that oblivious dependence that some people
have upon their official duty, there could be no threat against them by other
people. And it was their strong bond, their state of being almost welded
together, that mechanic Kotov had decided to break by raising the discussion
about a specific incident to the height of beneficial generalization. Why
Kotov? Well, because he is young and he does not consider himself to be a
small person, although during the process of this story, people wanted several
times to put him "in his place." There had also been crude statements, such
as "Who do you think you are, anyway?" There had been statements clothed in
polite and even sympathetic terms, such as "You're young, Kotov -- why do you
have to be so obstinate?" That was the terrible sin that people saw in him --

his youth... And it turns out that that youth also harmed him when they had decided not to invite him to the discussion at the obkom...

Investigator Shestyayeva, in the appropriate mood, went to the chief of the investigation department of the oblast procurator's office, A. T. Dugin, to get advice. He waved off all his junior colleagues' doubts by saying that the case could not be sent to court, and it would be closed. Oktyabrskiy Rayon procurator G. A. Sermyazhko objected to that turn of events and reopened the criminal case, transferring it to investigator S. I. Yefremov. But it was not only hinted even to the new investigator at the oblast procurator's office, but stated outright that there could be a verdict of not guilty for this case. It was necessary for the rayon procurator, RSFSR Honored Jurist G. A. Sermyazhko to write the indictment by himself. He attempted to prepare it in an easily understood manner, thoroughly, without leaving anything out. thought that the case has been transformed from a very simple one into a unique one. So exactly a half-year after 'he moment of initiating the case, it finally arrived at the Oktyabrskiy Rayon court. But... the very next day it was officially demanded from the court by oblast deputy procurator M. A. Saprykin.

I asked why.

"Because of Antonova's complaint," Mikhail Aleksandrovich replied.

Complaints such as this arrive at the oblast procurator's office practically every day. How often do they result in having the case officially demanded from the court?

"In my practice this is the first time..."

The final stage was shorter: the oblast procurator's office sent the case for additional investigation to the city procurator's office. The city procurator's office sent it to the Leninsky Rayon procurator's office. Senior investigator N. V. Bezrukov started to make an attempt to refuse it — the case was too "delicate." But he did not succeed. He weighed all the pros and cons and decided: the case would be closed "because of the lack of a corpus delicti in Antonova's actions." So, in this very prolonged case involving petty theft, a case that had been conducted by all the procurator's offices in the oblast center, the last dot had been placed...

But now the most important conclusion is: should Viadimir Kotov have revealed that "mechanism" of connivance and lack of principles? Should he have written the letter to the newspaper, have brought in people from the outside in order to bring up again the case that had been put in the inactive files, in order for the people at the obkom offices to start talking about red tape, the people at the procurator's office about incomplete investigative work, and the people at the UVD about the shameful spot on the militia...

But how did this discussion go?

V. M. Chadov, head of the Administrative Agencies Department of the CPSU obkom, did not conceal his concern: "I acquainted myself with the materials

pertaining to the case. What can I say? It had been entangled in red tape to the point of being impossible to resolve. A crude attempt had been made to conceal many of the facts in the case. We shall analyze the situation according to the party line." A statement in the same spirit was made by M. A. Saprykin, oblast deputy procurator: "I sat up until 4 a.m. reading this case. It contains a lot of incomplete investigative work and other omissions. We shall analyze it in the most careful manner. We shall cancel the previous decisions. We shall appoint an additional investigation." S. L. Pavlov, chief of the oblispolkom UVD, also is not against a well-principled attitude: "As a jurist I can say that it contains obvious tendentiousness. But as the chief of the UVD I am in a dual position: on the one hand, all this story is shameful for us, but, on the other hand, what specifically can we point to as the personal blame of our worker Antonov?" V. L. Bazanov, deputy head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the CPSU obkom, sharply reproached NOVGORODSKAYA PRAVDA, stating, "It did not provide its article, so to speak, with 'feet to stand on' -- the editorial office was unable to get an answer with any substance."

And although it is difficult to suspect those at the meeting of not being sincere, their heated promises to bring the criminal case to its completion subsequently looked like a kind of demonstration of their readiness for restructuring, and what happened is that the guilty individuals in this story are somewhere there, behind the door. At the same time, Kotov was left on the other side of the door... And without him the conversation is completely different, because are we really supposed to think that it was simply about a few pieces of sausage that the editor received a letter from public-minded Vladimir Kotov, Stepan Lisko, Vitaliy Lyudayev, Irina Korotayeva, and Marina Krylova?..

The person who went to the party's oblast committee on an important social matter was a non-party young man whose favorite word is "justice." For a long time, to the extent that he was able, he struggled to make sure that a story that had already been completely written off and sent into the dead files was brought out to the surface again. But then he went so far that that story threw light on a number of vital aspects of such a complicated job as the restructuring of a person's psychology. And although he wanted to receive, in response to his own not personal and not specific questions, honest answers from the senior party comrades. This visit meant a lot to him...

And a lot was lost by those who did not want to listen to him. If they had allowed in to see them a young fighter for the new life of which he wanted to be a fully valid owner, without any rebates for age -- or, putting it more briefly, if they had let in life itself, and its live current, then the participants of that discussion could have looked with other eyes both at the letter to the newspaper and at its authors, and at what had appeared to be an ordinary, individual fact.

I said goodbye to Kotov and his comrades. The road to the train station went across the bridge. The car leaped across the Volkhov in only a few seconds, but I had enough time to see the unfreezing strip of the obstinate river about which Kotov had said so splendidly, "There is a current -- because the water is alive..."

5075 CSO: 1800/433 MEDICAL, LEGAL STRUGGLE AGAINST DRUGS IN LISSR DISCUSSED

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 4 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by ELTA correspondent V. Prekyavichyus: "Fatal Curiosity"]

[Text] ...Arvidas Zhalkauskas from the village of Aukshtupenay of Kupishkskiy Rayon -- 32 years old, secondary education, unemployed. His accomplice, Gintaras Vashtaka from Kupishkis -- 20 years old, secondary education, unemployed. They bought up large amounts of narcotics which they shipped, stored, and attempted to resell. The former was sentenced by a people's court of Kupishkskiy Rayon to eight years, and the other person was sentenced to 7.5 years of imprisonment in a forced labor correction colony with confiscation of his property.

...Vladas Kvedaravichyus -- Klaypeda resident, 24 years old, secondary education, unemployed. He manufactured and stored narcotics. A people's court of Klaypeda sentenced him to two years of imprisonment. He will be obliged to undergo compulsory treatment for drug addiction at his site of incarceration.

...Remigiyus Stanyulis, Kaunas resident, 25 years old, secondary education, unemployed. His wife is Virginia Stanyulene -- 24 years old, secondary education, unemployed. Both manufactured and stored narcotics. A people's court of Kaunasskiy Rayon sentenced them to three years of imprisonment. Since V. Stanyulene had committed theft moreover, his property was confiscated. These sentenced persons will have to undergo compulsory treatment for drug addiction at their site of incarceration.

Our society has come up against a dangerous phenomenon. What are the reasons for drug addiction and how can it be controlled?

Physician at the General Health Administration of the LiSSR Ministry of Health Romualda Baltrukonene had the following comments:

"The aforementioned criminal acts are cause for reflection. Each case of drug addiction is a danger signal. Drug addiction is a disaster. It forces a person to reject everything, even his life. Eighty percent of the addicts are young people under the age of 35. Most of them are not working, have an excess of leisure time and minimum of obligations.

Drug addicts are being treated at drug treatment institutions of the republic. Psychiatrist-drug-treatment specialists are working in all of the cities and at the central hospital of each rayon. Kaunas has a special hospital division.

I emphasize that treatment is prolonged and difficult, and the results of the treatment depend on the patient himself, and on his environment after he is discharged. It is essential that the path to such harmful habits as smoking and drunkenness be blocked in each family. Parents, in concert with teachers, must involve their children, juveniles, and young people in some work activity. They must all know the consequences of drug addiction. I emphasize that those consequences are permicious."

Chief Physician of the republic's Vilnius Drug Treatment Clinic, Chief Drug Treatment Specialist of the Lissi Ministry of Health Algis Kurtinaytis had the following comments:

"Drug addict patients are obliged to be treated in a clinic and should then visit a psychiatrist-drug-treatment specialist at their place of residence. Those who decline voluntary treatment are sent for compulsory clinical treatment to a treatment center.

Special sociological research on narcotics abuse in the republic has not been undertaken so that we do not yet have any scientifically substantiated data. However, practice has shown that drug addiction is frequently spurred by such psychological factors as a wish to change one's condition and to escape from reality. Approximately 60 percent of the juveniles and young people who try narcotics for the first time do so out of curiosity. Narcotics frequently entice weak-willed persons who feel that they are inferior."

Deputy Procurator of the LiSSH Vidas Barauskas had the following comments:

Last year we undertook a check on the extent to which the laws concerning the intensified struggle against drug addiction were being enforced in Vilnius, Kaunas, and Klaypeda. We found serious shortcomings in the registry of these patients, their voluntary or compulsory treatment as well as the legal measures that were taken against the manufacture and resale of narcotics and the theft of narcotic substances. There were particularly many unresolved problems in Klaypeda and the Kapsukskiy and Kaysnyadorskiy rayons."

Narcotics addiction and toxic drug addiction among minors require special attention on the part of the law enforcement authorities. It is essential that the efforts of parents, teachers, and the Komsomol should become more active in the struggle against this enronic form of suicide.

The internal affairs authorities have recently been cooperating more successfully with the medical profession. It is no accident that the number of identified drug addicts last year was two and one-half times greater than in 1985. Now each city and rayon has medical institutions which at any time of the day can check persons suspected of using narcotics. Additional measures have been taken to interdict the resale of these substances.

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C30: 1d00/414

#### SOCIAL ISSUES

## ESSR: BOY'S DEATH PROMPTS CHILD ABUSE INVESTIGATION

[Editorial Report] Tallin RAHVA HAAL in Estonian on 5 March 1987 carries on page 3 under the rubric "From the Court" a report on child abuse and the law enforcement agencies' handling of abuse cases. The article details the case of a little boy who died as a result of beatings by his mother's "partner." Although a pediatrician had reported the child's situation to local authorities, no action was taken until after he died over 15 months later. Following a protracted investigation and trial, the local prosecutor and education department inspector were relieved of their duties, and an investigator from the prosecutor's office was sentenced to 2 years' deprivation of freedom for "professional negligence." The mother's partner was sentenced to 15 years and the mother was sentenced to "one year of corrective work at the work place, with 5 percent of her salary withheld as state revenue."

# WW II TRAITOR RECEIVES DEATH SENTENCE

[Editorial report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 87 carries on page 2 an article titled "Retribution" by M. Velikanov and N. Popinako. The article reports that V.D. Tarakanov, a Soviet officer who was taken prisoner by the Germans in 1942 and collaborated with his captors, was arrested by the KGB in Smolensk. He was tried for his crimes against the Soviet people and was sentenced to death.

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CSO: 1800/498

#### SOCIAL ISSUES

## LENINGRAD VISA OFFICIAL ON DEMONSTRATION BY JEWS

LD242048 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 24 Mar 87

[Text] Leningrad, 24 Mar (TASS)—Seven Leningrad Jews came on Monday to the building of the former Smolny Institute, now the premises of the regional party committee, with posters demanding the right to go to Israel. Militiamen did not intervene: The organizers of the demonstration had notified the city council of their plans in advance and, under the Soviet regulations, were free to express their views.

However, the Leningraders and guests of the city who saw the demonstration did not approve. Many of them were offended by the choice of the site for the provocative demonstration (the Smolny Institute went down in history as the headquarters of the October 1917 revolution), while others were amazed by the posters saying "Let my people go" and "We demand to be returned to our homeland." Things went peacefully, however, and in a couple of hours the demonstrators quietly dispersed.

In this connection a TASS correspondent asked Leonid Savitskiy, the head of the Visas and registration department of Leningrad, to describe the situation with exit visas [as received] to those who wanted to leave the country.

"These procedures are taking place strictly in accord with the existing regulations, which for their part tally with the international covenants on civic and political rights, approved by the UN General Assembly in December 1966," Savitskiy said. "The covenants also envision certain restrictions on emigration, related to the protection of state security, public order, the health or morality of the population, or the rights and freedoms of other people. The legal regulations on the emigration of Soviet citizens have now been revised. The procedures have become simpler and the time it takes to consider applications for exit visas has been cut back."

"For instance, under the new regulations, Fradkin, Goldman, Devyatov, Burshtein, Tsivin, Tsarovtsev and other persons, previously, refused permission, have been granted exit visas before the time limit has run out," Savitskiy said. "More applications are now being revised."

"As for the demonstration, I am confident that it was organized by people who would like to earn the martyr's halo. We have long known such sort of people. They try to earn political capital before going to the West so as to turn it afterwards into ready cash. The Leningraders know this and that is why demonstrations like that one will never be supported or approved in our city."

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CSO: 1812/147

#### READERS LETTERS DISCUSS RETURNING SOVIET EMIGRES

PM241520 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 March 1987 carries on page 14 a 1,600-word feature under the new rubric "No Agreement Among Readers," headed "The Former Has-Beens: How Should They Be Treated?" The feature consists of three letters from readers concerning attitudes to the return of emigres to the Soviet Union after many years abroad, plus an unattributed editorial commentary.

The first letter, from I. Kondratyev in Leningrad, describes the emigres as "grumbling, critical ballast, active only in their own interests," and asks: "Why take this ballast on again, providing them with all the benefit, of our society?"

The second, from A. Negodenko in Altay Kray, takes a different view, saying that "any former Soviet citizen should have the right to return home," and continuing: "In my view, departure is not treason, but stupidity. It is a mistake, promopted by greed, envy, and dissatisfaction with one's situation combined with an overestimation of oneself as an individual, and inadequate information.

"Leaving the Soviet Union seems to confirm the bourgeois propaganda slander. But returning refutes that slander!"

The third letter, from V. Shevelev in Tyumen Oblast, argues, on the contrary, that the returning emigres cannot be trusted, and points to the danger of young people. seeing their example, wanting to "go abroad, live there for a while (after all, it's interesting!) and then come back." Shevelev concludes: "I realize that humanity is necessary, but not everyone should be allowed back and given an apartment and a job again (and in the center of the country, of course). I doubt whether such people will go and live somewhere in Siberia. They have tasted one pie, now the other, and they want to see which is tastier."

The 600-word editorial comment explains that all the letters are typical of many received by the newspaper now that the problem of how to treat returning emigres must be tackled "not in theory, but in practice." The commentary declares that in this argument. "both sides are right, each in its own way." It is up to the returning emigres to prove "that they have returned on a serious basis, having really thought things over and understood." But at

the same time misconceptions must be dispelled. "Soviet representatives do not to be the documents for return to everyone indiscriminately," nor is there any truth in rumors that they are granted any privileges or special conditions. The commentary concludes:

"As for fears that the humanity of our socialist motherland and its magnanimous willingness to forgive past errors will sow temptation in the hearts of the weak, the desire to 'go over there and come back,' these fears have their origins in yesterday. Here at home life is more just than abroad, we are confident of its steady, all-around improvement. That will happen—and much more quickly than the skeptics believe. Against the background of the impressive transformations affecting every one of us, the return of former emigres to the motherland is seen in its true light, as a secondary process which is not essential, but is at the same time only natural."

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CSO: 1800/491

#### STATISTICS CITED ON MIGRATION FROM GEORGIAN MOUNTAIN REGION

Tbilisi KOMMUNIST GRUZII in Russian No 11, Nov 86 (signed to press 3 Nov 86) pp 63-65

[Article by A. Katsadze: "Population Migration in the Imereti Hills"]

[Text] In recent years the Georgian CP Central Committee and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers adopted a whole series of important decrees aimed at the socioeconomic development of the mountainous regions. Appropriate practical measures have been implemented, but population migration from the mountains to the plains is continuing.

At the same time the problem requires special scientific research. One important problem is the elaboration of a scientifically substantiated concept of migration regulation.

Kvemo-Imereti, like other mountainous regions of Georgia, has its own specificity. The mountainous relief, poor roads that curve along steep slopes, and proximity to industrial and cultural centers are all factors that have a strong influence on the orientation of population migration. Migration has been particularly noticeable in the mountainous belt of the Vanskiy, Mayakovskiy, Tsulukidsevskiy, and Samtredskiy rayons which has further exacerbated the demographic situation. For example, in 1959 the village of Baboti in Vanskiy Rayon had 501 inhabitants. In 1979 there were 59, and in 1983 there were only 29. The population of this village resettled in Kutaisi and Vani, and the remaining residents are mainly concentrated in the center of the rural soviet. More than one-half of the residents are over 60 years of age and there is not a single child under 14 years. There are only two persons between the ages of 15 and 19 years.

The village of Bagineti which is also part of that rural soviet is endowed with excellent natural resource conditions and good arable land, but it too is losing population primarily because of the lack of roads.

In 1959 the village of Maisioni (Kumur rural soviet) had 241 inhabitants. Today there are only 52 persons living here, and more than one-half of those persons are in their declining years. The village has a total of only 17 families of which only nine are complete, i.e. include married couples. There are no young families at all (under 30 years of age).

The villages of Vanskiy Rayon graphically illustrate the severe consequences of population migration. This kind of unattractive demographic picture could have been avoided if the leadership of the rural soviets and rayon had provided the necessary level of social administration of the villages. At the same time we do not at all wish to assert that nothing whatever has been done about this situation. Through the support of republic organizations, measures haves been undertaken to improve public transportation, medical, commercial, and domestic services. However, one senses that the rayon still doesn't have a unified system of coordinating efforts, and that certain important projects are being delayed, and that there is lack of consistency in these undertakings.

A small production branch employing about 50 workers was opened in the Kumur rural soviet area. This very good initiative warrants further support and attention. A brick and ceramic products plant will be set up in Bagineti. The area has sufficient raw materials, but is need of a motor vehicle road which is beyond the capacity of local capabilities. It would therefore be desirable to have appropriate organs linked into these efforts.

One of the sectors of the village of Baboti has been completely depopulated because of landslides. Appropriate anti-landslide measures must be implemented in order to return the residents there. At the same time, there should be changes made in the system of resettlement inasmuch as the widespread dispersion of the population hinders the development of the services sector.

Mention should also be made about the fact that timber that is being brought from outside the rayon is being stockpiled in the Kumur rural soviet area. But why doesn't this area set up its own lumber processing industry? This would provide employment and reduce migration.

Of no less importance in slowing down the migration process are the development of cultural buildings in the village, the expansion of the television and radio network, efficiently run domestic service facilities, and good roads. By the way, the quality of television reception here has improved. Kumur residents by their own efforts have put down motor vehicle roads to the tea plantations that are scattered along the mountain slopes whichhave significantly facilitated the work of the tea harvesters. One would hope that the villagers will also give as much attention to roads that lead to other agricultural arable areas.

In the Mayakovskiy Rayon the villages of Sakraula and Khani are of considerable interest. Sakraula is 500 meters above sea level. In 1959 there were 1,964 inhabitants there, That population decreased to 893 in 1970. In 1979 there were 670 inhabitants, and in 1983 the total number of inhabitants was just 587. There are twice as many people over 60 years of age as there are young people under 15 years of age. The average number of persons per family is three.

The remarkable Sakraul canyon is undergoing an intensive process of demographic decline. A part of the population is being drawn to the city while completely forgetting about that truism that the time-honored native lands of their origin are in need of the caring hand of their owners. By the way, Sakraula has been noted in the rayon for its high level of grape harvest yields. Here each hectare yields 35 quintals of grapes.

The village of Khani is 800 meters above sea level and is noted for its unique demographic situation. True, the population here has been decreasing (there were 957 inhabitants here in 1959 as opposed to 315 in 1983), but the demographic structure is within normal limits. The number of persons under 15 years of age exceed those in their 60's by seven percent. Family size here is also higher than it is in Sakraula. Whereas the latter village does not have suitable conditions for cattle breeding, such conditions do exist in Khani. Expansive pastures are located nearby where the inhabitants have built summer buildings on a cooperative basis and are successfully raising cattle.

The local summer massifs are conducive to the procurement of natural forage for pigs. This sector is also developing successfully. Khani has also started up bee-keeping and plans are being made to organize a trout breeding farm, a soap powder manufacturing shop, etc. The village also has food and hardware stores, a secondary school, a club, a kindergarten-nursery, and a domestic services pavilion. The population is living comfortably, well designed houses are being built, and people are acquiring automobiles. In general, concern about the mountain regions has brought the village good results and has been reflected by the well-being of its population and has removed the migration problem from the order of the day. This offers some hope that things will change for the better in other mountain villages of the rayon as well. This must be the concern of the appropriate authorities.

The mountain villages of Gordi and Kinchkha of the Tsulukidzevskiy Rayon are distinguished by their mild climate and favorable conditions for agricultural production. Nevertheless, the population there has been decreasing. These rural soviets are characterized by a demographic aging of the population due to the large number of young people who are in the process of migration and the lowered birth rate.

In 1959 there were 1,149 inhabitants in the Gordi rural soviet as opposed to 1,312 in 1983. The population figures for Kinchkha for those periods are 801 and 322 respectively. In general there is some population growth in the rayon due to the planned resettlement of inhabitants from the Lentekhskiy and Tsagereskiy rayons to the plains area. For example, 97 families have recently resettled into the plains village of Kukhi of whom 50 were from Lower Svanetia (223 persons), three from Lechkhumi (10 persons), three from Tskhaltubo (14 persons), etc.

Intensive migration is taking place in the mountain zone of the Samtredskiy Rayon as is indicated by the fact that the population of the Opet rural soviet is now 14.6 percent lower than it was in 1970 (the reduction is even greater in other villages).

A study of the migration processes in the mountainous Imereti region has shown that in the first place, the migration flow has been from the mountains to the plains and to the centers of the rural soviets that are near the industrial cities. In the second place, remigration of a two-fold nature has been observed in the mountains. On the one hand, pensioners living in the cities are returning to their native roots. On the other hand, they remain in the mountains, but use rehabilitated country houses for private farming and recreation areas. This process is occurring in an uncontrolled fashion so that it requires some management.

In order to keep work hands in the farms on a permanent basis, it is essential to devise a uniform system of building auxiliaries and branches of major industrial enterprises, including timber processing plants, in the Vanskiy and Tsulukidzevskiy rayons. Young people should be encouraged to involved in this effort.

The results of studies on the characteristics of current migration processes allow one to conclude that the realistic situation of public life creates certain requirements and interests in an individual that subsequently appears in the form of some social value. This in turn directly affects migration behavior. Otherwise, migration would be difficult to explain as a social and psychological phenomenon. Consequently, migration should be considered an expression of personal will and desire which is objectively due to current socioeconomic processes and conditions of public life.

Therefore, population migration in the mountainous Kvemo-Imereti region must be analyzed from that point of view and it must be managed on the basis of a scientifically substantiated and practically tested system if we wish to obtain the desired results.

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CSO: 1830/374

#### BETTER TRAINING FOR SCIENTISTS URGED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 23 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "Young Scientific Cadres" urging that improvements be made in scientific education. The problem begins at the postgraduate level [aspirantura]. "The work of preparing scientific cadres at the postgraduate level is unsatisfactory. Not all the youths entering at this level are talented and capable. Due to serious shortcomings at the time of acceptance, the activity of graduate students at some scientific research institutes and higher schools is not meeting modern depands. In 1985, of 386 individuals who finished their studies in the republic only 31 defended their dissertations on time. This fact speaks for itself."

#### HIGH DIVORCE RATE IN AZERBAIJAN DEPLORED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 2 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "Family Honor" which extols the virtues of a good family life and deplores the divorces stemming from poor family relations. "The fact that some youths have superficial or mistaken concepts of family life is resulting in thoughtless marriages and minor family disputes turning into major conflicts. Last year more than half the divorces in the republic were registered in Baku City. There are many similar situations in Khachmaz, Shamkhor, Gazakh, Aghdam, and Absheron Rayons." The editorial adds that "there were only two families which broke up in Zardab Rayon last year, and divorces are rare in Shahbuz, Hadrut, Lachyn, and Lerik Rayons."

#### HOUSING SPECULATORS UNDER ATTACK

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 23 December 1986 carries on page 4 an 1100-word article by A. Amiraliyev headlined "Once More on Housing Speculators." It concerns readers' responses to a recent series of articles on housing speculators, primarily in Oktyabr Rayon, where it was discovered by the rayon procuracy that 118 apartments had been vacant "for years" and that another 173 "were seized by certain people arbitrarily." The situation, however, continues in Oktyabr: "There are still people who have been using state-owned housing for years as a source of rental income. The major reason for this is that there is not enough control over protecting state housing. Leadership in the rayispolkom's housing administration, the housing inventory and allocation section, and housing operations section are not keeping an exact inventory of vacant apartments."

# BAKU'S HOTELS INVESTIGATED, FOUND WANTING

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 23 December 1986 carries on page 4 a 1600-word article by P. Mammadov bearing the title "A Guest Comes to the City... Why Are They Dissatisfied With Baku's Hotels?" in which he examines the plight of a citizen who comes to Baku and needs to stay overnight without a reservation. The basic problem is that according to order 524 from the AzSSR Ministry of Housing and Communal Services dated 30 November 1979, 70 percent of all hotel rooms are reserved through contracts with various organizations and institutions. This means that only 30 percent of the rooms are "freely" available to individuals. Often this percentage is even the letter "Some Notes on the Organization of Burial Ceremonies." Proposing that a funeral home be established in the city, he complains that this question has been unresolved for a long time. "At the time of a funeral a significant amount of time is lost in finding tents, chairs, transport, and other needs. The city communal services organization has established a funeral office, but the people are very unhappy with its work." He points out that "a grave is dug for 70 rubles. There is no pricelist for headstones at the shops which do this. Thus, stonecutters sell them for 1000-1500 rubles. This situation causes dissatisfaction among the people." He also enumerates what he is not asking for: "We are by no means in favor of using a lot of stone, marble or metal for this, nor do we want to spend a lot of money marking the third, seventh and fortieth Fridays or the anniversary of the death."

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CSO: 1830/399

## TAJIK ACADEMICIAN CONDUCTS ROVING PLANNED PARENTHOOD ACTIVITIES

[Editorial Report] Moscow GOLOS RODINY in Russian No 10, March 1987 carries on page 4 a 1000-word profile of Professor Sofya Khafizovna Khakimova, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and director of the Maternity and Pediatrics Institute in Dushanbe, by I. Tsyganov titled "The Mother of All Mothers." The article is part of a two-page spread on Tajikistan published within the context of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. Khakimova is portrayed as a specialist in the field of obstetrics and gynecology who is concerned about the high birth rate in Tajikistan. The author writes: "Tajikistan has the leading birth rate among all the Union republics. It is normal for a family to have 6 or 7 children, especially in rural areas, but in every village you can find households with 10 or 12 children apiece." In the past this was only logical, to ensure the survival of the race in the face of constant epidemics, "but now, when practically every newborn survives and no trace of the terrible epidemics remains, apprehension about the future should diminish. And in fact it has not only diminished, but has disappeared for good. However, tradition remains..." This is a cause for concern on the part of Khakimova, who describes the physical toll taken on mothers by such a high rate of birth and concludes: "Therefore, a hiatus [between births] is necessary in order for the organism to replenish itself. We are now holding information sessions for married couples throughout the republic." The author goes on to describe the nature of Khakimova's activity: "Professor Khakimova herself and her assistants travel around to cities and villages in the republic and appear on local television programs, describing the importance of planning the childbirth process, the importance of planned parenthood. They also check out women who cannot have children due to various ailments. The first planned parenthood office was opened in the Maternity and Pediatrics Institute itself, and similar facilities have appeared in many rayons."

CSO: 1830/427

#### SOCIAL ISSUES

YOUTH PAPER CONDEMNS CORRUPTION IN TURKMEN KOMSOMOL

PM121621 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 8 February 1987 carries on page 2 under the headline "Secrets of a Personal File" a 2,100-word report from the Turkmen SSR by own correspondent V. Ardayev.

The author starts by describing the case of A.E. Veyisov, who was elected second secretary of Turkmenistan's Leninskiy Komsomol Raykom solely on the strength of his curriculum vitae. This was despite his vocal opposition to being put forward and his absence from the election conference itself. This story causes the author to remark: "You might have thought that the 'questionnaire' approach to cadre selection was condemned long ago. But, alas, not everywhere." He acknowledges questionnaries can be useful but not when they become the be-all and end-all: "Any questionnaire, even the best, will not replace open, public dis assion about a person in the labor collective that is nominating him." He cites as evidence of the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the republic's komsomol a recent criminal case involving a komsomol raykom secretary and the fact that, according to the republic's party newspaper, "More than 70 secretaries of primary organizations and senior officials of the komsomol apparatus have been dismissed after compromising themselves through mampractice, unworthy conduct, or gross shortcomings in thier work." These general formulations, according to the author, sometimes disguise drunkenness, bribery, and involvement in the "video game."

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CSO: 1800/501

#### TEJEN RAYON NARCOTICS PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKME ISTANY in Turkmen on 10 January 1987 carries a 1000-word article by journalist B. Sakhedov on the seriousness of the narcotics problem in Tejen Rayon. The article's title, taken from a poem by the early Soviet Turkmen poet Mollamurt, is "If someone's work is bad, he is taking drugs." Highlighting a number of users of opium, hashish, and koknar (a syrup extracted from the opium poppy), he quotes the rayon procurator as saying: "'The fact that there are people using narcotic substances in our rayon is disturbing. Drug users are forced into all kinds of crime. A large proportion of crimes in recent years are drug-related. Recently, we have strengthened our work against the drug trade. Certainly, the fact that this regrettable situation persists in our rayon shows that the fight against it has not been strong up to the present time. Frankly, we recognize that law enforcement organs have not been conducting the struggle against this criminal act to a sufficient extent."

## TUSSR: IMPORTANCE OF RUSSIAN IN HIGHER EDUCATION STRESSED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 6 January 1987 carries on page 3 a 1700-word article by G. Berdiyev and Ya. Mammediyev, both docents at the M. Gorkiy Turkmen State University, headlined "The Higher School and Demand" concerning the importance of Russian in higher education. Noting that many faculties have shifted to teaching in Russian, they point out that "it is not difficult to think that a majority of boys and girls from rural areas are somewhat confused in this situation." They add that "we propose that, at the present time, a special group of students who did not learn enough Russian in the secondary schools be organized and that studies and lectures in the first and second courses be held in the mother tongue."

#### TURKMEN LANGUAGE TEACHING ASSAILED BY LINGUIST

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 25 January 1987 carries on page 3 an 1800-word article by Begench Kerimi under the rubric "We Return to a Theme Examined Before" in which the question of the purity of the Turkmen language is raised. He points out that "in 1986 the newspaper ADEBIYAT VE SUNGAT organized a discussion on preserving the purity of the Turkmen language, its development, the violation of its rules by some people, and cases when 'excesses' are permitted in the general language question." Blame for shortcomings in the treatment of the language is placed on the shoulders of teachers and the mass media. He also mentions that a special

commission was formed under the aegis of the Magtynguly Institute of Language and Literature to examine Turkmen orthography, terminology, and other areas of dispute. Despite this, however, a "lack of clarity" persists in discussions of questions pertaining to the Turkmen language.

#### TURKMEN TEACHERS NOT FOLLOWING EDUCATION REFORMS

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 25 January 1987 carries on page 3 a 600-word article by K. Begkhanov, head of the Murgap Rayon section of Soyuzpechat, under the rubric "We Return to a Theme Examined Before." He analyzes subscriptions made by local teachers to the two republic teachers' publications, MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI [Teachers' Journal] and TURKMENISTANYNG KHALK MAGARYFY [Peoples Education of Turkmenistan], and finds that "in our rayon 30 percent of the teachers read one newspaper in their field and 60 percent do not read any. With the implementation of school reform in our republic, how are they supposed to be able to impart knowledge and teach the growing younger generation without acquainting themselves with the experience of progressive school collectives and exemplary teachers?" Noting the "illiteracy" of some of the subscription forms submitted by teachers, he concludes that "teachers are completely responsible for the low literacy level of students."

#### NEW RUSSIAN TEXT FOR TURKMEN HIGHER SCHOOLS

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 23 January 1987 carries on page 4 a 1200-word review by A. Myradov, docent at the M. Gor'kiy Turkmen State University and candidate in philological sciences, headlined "On the Language of Communication of Millions" discussing the new Russian language textbook "Practical Course in the Russian Language." The reviewer points out that "grammar is introduced in the text by taking account of the specifics of the Turkmen language in an especially productive manner." He adds that due to the book's structure, "the authors have made it possible for students to learn speaking [Russian] in all its facets."

#### TUSSR: TEACHER SHORTAGE IN BUZMEIN

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 11 January 1987 carries on page 2 a 1200-word article by A. Ishangulyyev headlined "Let's Turn Innovation Into the Norm" on the Buzmein teachers' conference. He points out that "there are not enough Russian and elementary teachers for physics, chemistry, history, and mathematics for schools which teach in Russian. The city Peoples' Education Department has put in a requisition for the needed teachers every year. But, according to the director, no chemistry or physics teachers have been sent to the Buzmein City peoples education department for the last 3 years."

#### TURKMEN SCHOOL LABOR EDUCATION OFF TO SLOW START

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 14 January 1987 carries on page 1 an 1100-word lead editorial on progress made in integrating academic and vocational education in the schools; the editorial's title is "Directing the Students to the Trades." "Despite positive steps taken in

providing the students with work education and directing them into the trades, there are still basic shortcomings in this question. Studies conducted last year in Tashauz Oblast revealed that there were no student workshops in 19 percent of the oblast's secondary and 8-year schools. This is a consequence of underestimating the importance of giving students a labor education and directing them into the trades at these schools." It is added that the organization of student production brigades is also being neglected: "No student production brigades have been formed in 108 schools in Chardzhou Oblast."

## ROLE OF TURKNEN WOMEN'S COUNCILS DEFENDED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 23 January 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "The Women's Council" on the operations of these councils throughout the republic. It points out that "in some places, in providing information on the work of women's councils or analyzing it, it has become a habit to link it with production data or to say 'if the plan is met, the work of the women's council is good; if the plan is not fulfilled, its work is poor.' But these things do not measure the work of the women's councils. The measure of their work is based on the level of political education conducted with women and their concern for improving working and living conditions." The editorial adds that 'formalism and deception are fundamental obstacles that limit our growth. Such obstacles characterize some of our women's councils." They define objectives and pass resolutions, "but all this remains on paper."

## SANITARY FACILITIES LACKING IN TURKMEN RURAL HOSPITALS

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 7 January 1987 carries on page 3 a 600-word article by M. Pashchyyeva, a department director at the Turkmen State Medical Institute, headlined "An Important Reserve of Production." She points out that certain areas of medical and public health practices could be improved: most rural medical administrations are located in poorly constructed buildings which do not correspond to demands. At present, out of 86 rural sector hospitals 61 lack sewage systems, 74 lack central heating, and 48 lack plumbing. Most of them do not have telephones."

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CSO: 1830/404

# SOCIAL ISSUES

# PRIMORSKIY KRAY URGED TO SOLVE PROBLEMS IN RESETTLING UZBEKS

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by Correspondent E. Maksimovskiy, member of USSR Journalists' Union, reporting from Vladivostok: "Salaam to the Far East!": "Hundreds of Families from Uzbekistan Have Recently Moved to Primorskiy Kray"]

[Text] From the Shores of Lake Khanka

This lake, familiar to us from our schoolbooks, is in the western part of Primorskiy Kray. The fertile lands of the Novoselskiy [New Settlers] Sovkhoz reach right to the shores. A branch of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Rice is also situated here. This crop is traditional for local inhabitants. They even raise their own variety, Novoselskiy-52.

There are five villages and three thousand people on the sovkhoz. Seventy-two jobs are unfilled, which is one for every ten filled. An economist could easily calculate that the sovkhoz could operate at a profit if those jobs were filled by mechanization specialists. But where to get the people? For the past three years new settlers have been coming here from Uzbekistan. I've met the Turabayevs, Bozor and Karomat, from Andizhan Oblast; Askar Suleymanov from Tashkent; and the Rakhimovs, Zarif and Oronvera, from the Shavatskiy Rayon of Khorezm Oblast—who just received their house.

The Mamutaliyev family that arrived here just a year ago has grown rapidly on the soil of the Far East. They occupy half of a two-apartment cottage. The bright and spacious rooms—the traditional setting for rural inhabitants of Uzbekistan—were familiar to me. The Mamutaliyevs did not abandon their customs, and greet their guests just as they would greet them not that long ago in the city of Sovetabad—beginning with artfully brewed green tea.

I arrived at the Mamutaliyevs' house on an afternoon in Autumn. The Sovkhoz fields were already gleaned, and the Mamutaliyev family had also gathered the harvest at their own farmstead. They raise splendid leeks, the quality of which astounds the local residents. Neighbors come to Khalima and Aslanbay to find out how they do it. They look curiously at the raykhon, a seasoning herb which is unknown here. The Mamutaliyevs share the secrets of their agricultural lore, and enjoy the feeling of being the center of attention of the populace of the small village, where many have become their friends.

On their farmstead there are sheep and a cow, and here and there chicks and ducklings appear. The family is gradually expanding its household. They have other plans as well. Presently Aslanbay is working as a stockman on the dairy products farm, and Khalima tends the calves. Their two daughters work here too. "We are thinking about taking on a farm as a family contract," says Aslanbay. "That would be advantageous both to us and to the sovkhoz." Acting Director G. Nesterenko supports their plan, and is pleased with the energetic work of the Mamutaliyev family. "They have two other daughters, who are taking beekeeping courses in Krasnoyarsk Kray," Nesterenko reported. "We are also attracted to this family because they are serious, solid folks, and because they inspire others through their attitude toward business and life."

# The Scope of the Problem

The Far East has to import about half its foodstuffs, including such staples as bread, potatoes, vegetables and meat. At the very same time the area posesses rich natural resources in fertile lands (about 4,000,000 hectares)—which cannot be put into agricultural production because of an acute shortage of workers. This, one could say, is virgin land. The workload for mechanization specialists on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes is higher than the nationwide average, and for the very same reason.

"In the coming years, as before, our village will experience an acute shortage of key personnel," said V. Zorin, Primorskiy Kray CPSU Committee [kray-kom] secretary, at our meeting. "We constantly experience shortages in our workforce, especially during the peak season. We are genuinely pleased with the new settlers, but far from all can adapt. We can understand those who depart because they cannot get used to our climate—it's not quite Siberian but it has its own peculiarities; and we can also sympathize with those who became homesick. But there are also settlers whose actions cannot be explained from a common-sense point of view."

Some are taken off the train while en route because of their bad behaviour -for being drunk and disorderly--and it turns out that they are chronic alcoholics. Many do not have and do not wish to have an agricultural profession. Resettlement contracts are being made with waitresses, bartenders, and taxi drivers -- whereas at the same time the conditions for resettlement to rural areas require workers in the mass production professions--animal husbandry and mechanization specialists, or construction workers. However, the labor authorities at the points of departure are sending to the Maritime Region anyone who expresses the desire. As a result, there is a high degree of turnover. As M. Nikiforov, chief of the Labor Department at the Primorskiy Kray Ispolkom put it, the administrators of the farms in the Maritime Region and officials at the ispolkons would also like to participate in selecting the settlers -- after all, when one takes into consideration all the expenses and allowances, and construction of housing, it costs up to 30,000 rubles for each family that arrives. It goes without saying that it is not simply a matter of the amount of the expenditures; but that they should be spent on people who are capable of making a worthy contribution to the development of agriculture in this remote region."

Maritime District officials have even made trips to the regions of Central Asia and the Ukraine. Labor authorities there were not exactly delighted to see these people; they were not allowed access to the resettlers, who had already prepared for departure. The Maritime District officials came home empty banded, and related their astonishment with the fact that of our information on living conditions in the Far East and the amounts of the wages, everything that would have raised even the slightest doubt had been removed. All that remained were the publicity and the attractive features.

Matters on the approach to recruitment planning were explained to me in the Maritime District cities of Vladivostok, Chernigovka and Spaask-Dalniy. The plan would be ruined immediately if people were given the correct information: both that wages here are not double, and that here one is paid for the work one actually does. One is paid for work, and not for coming to the Far East. It's easy to figure out: not everyone who was uprooted goes back; there are actually those who stay, even if they are disappointed; but those who do not stay here are nevertheless counted in the reports, and are entered on the charts for fulfilling the resettlement plan as well.

And what is the end result of resettlement? It is—it goes without saying—the adaptability of those who made the trip. The entire undertaking is for this purpose, and not for the sake of the plan. In the Far East they consider that it is namely "adaptability", limited to a certain period, that the labor authorities should plan for, and not the number who have departed the republic.

## A Fresh View is Needed

Will changing the guidelines for planning solve all the problems of resettlement? To a certain extent, yes-but not all of them. In Uzbekistan I saw resettlers who had just come back, and they expressed completely justifiable complaints about the farms of the Maritime Region: some were given barely habitable peasant huts; others were not given the attention so necessary to a new settler. My interlocutors in the Maritime Region did not cover up such instances. Several tens of thousands of workers are needed, but they are capable of providing normal conditions for half that number at best. There aren't enough building materials or builders themselves. There are plans for houses for the resettlers which one cannot even bring oneself to call obsolete, because not even in bygone days did anyone build housing according to such poor plans.

Planned resettlement must be supported by planned funds—for capital construction of housing, socio-cultural-domestic projects, and the like. One can of course disregard all the limited local resources for these purposes, but what can one say about those very same problems among the local populace, among people who have lived here for decades or since their very birth? Their children are growing too; their houses are also becoming dilapidated; they too can compare the living conditions of years past with the level of their current impressions of social justice.

In the redistribution of labor resources around the country, resettlement is the number one problem. Republics with a surplus of labor resources have a material interest in assisting the transfer of a certain portion of their own labor resources to the new economic regions of the USSR. And the Far East has an objective material interest in these labor resources. But there are not enough productive forces here to support both the resettlers and the local inhabitants. Is it reasonable to—as they say in Uzbekistan—"grasp two melons in one hand"?

A fresh view of the problem is needed. We recall the sponsorship assistance of Uzbekistan to the Non-Chernozem zone of the RSFSR. Contractor trusts with many millions of rubles in fixed capital were established—large collectives, consisting basically of emissaries of the republic. I saw such a sov-khoz in Ivanov Oblast: on the sovkhoz complex they built housing, socio-cultural—domestic projects, and production capacities including land reclamation projects. Republic sponsorship in the BAM zone was organized according to the very same principle. This experience could be wholly transported to the Maritime Region as well, for the purpose of setting up one or two farms here to which the stream of resettlers could be transferred—with a style of life familiar to them and everyday life in the tradition of a Central Asian built—up area. Cooperation between Turkmeniya and Amur Oblast, for example, is being developed in this direction.

There are similar plans in Uzbekistan as well. In response to my article on problems of resettlement published in the magazine SELSKAYA NOV, I received a letter from the Uzbek SSR Gosplan Deputy Chairman. He reported that, in accordance with a decision by a republic commission, eight densely-populated oblasts of the republic have accepted sponsorship of eight oblasts and krays of the Russian Federation for supplying labor resources to the industrial branches in the greatest need. Thus, Andizhan Oblast has accepted sponsorship for Primorskiy Kray; Surkhan-Darya Oblast for Khabarovskiy Kray; Samarkand Oblast for Amur Oblast; Khorezm for Chita; Fergana, for Irkutsk; Bukhara, for Tomsk, and so on.

A start has been made on a far-reaching process. It is important that it be implemented consistently, on the basis of qualitatively new conceptions.

Our aircraft arrived in Primorskiy Kray early in the morning. A loudspeaker suspended on a tall concrete column was playing familiar music, recently heard in Bukhara, and the sound of the karnai and surnai was heard. Later they explained that local radio has begun including Uzbek melodies in its broadcasts, so that the resettlers would feel at home. Like, for example, the Mamutaliyev family, resettlers from Andizhan Oblast.

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#### BRIEFS

ABUSED CHILD ATTEMPTS SUICIDE—On 30 January 1987 O. Odinayeva, a 10th-grade pupil at Secondary School No 10 in Tursunzadevskiy Rayon, doused herself with kerosene and set herself aflame in an attempted suicide. She was taken to the central rayon hospital in serious condition and is undergoing treatment. The reason given for the attempted suicide is the cruel treatment the girl received from her father, S. Odinayev, and from her other close relatives. The Tursunzade City Prosecutor's Office has begun a criminal investigation of the matter. [TadzhikTA report] [Text] [Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 8 Feb 87 p 2]

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# REGIONAL ISSUES

#### GORBACHEV'S BALTIC VISITS DISCUSSED BY REPUBLIC OFFICIALS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 87 p 1

[Article by PRAVDA Special Correspondents O. Meshkov, A. Chernyak, V. Shirokov, and G. Yastrebtsov: "We Will Increase Efficiency"]

[Text] The trip of M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, throughout Latvia and Estonia Lasted 5 days. Dozens of meetings and talks with workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, students, party, soviet, and economic managers, Komsomol members, and veterans of the revolution were held. Ardently supporting and approving the decisions of the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the party's efforts directed toward an acceleration of the country's social and economic development, workers in the Soviet Baltic region talked about their firm desire to live and work in a new way. They well realize that the success of restructuring depends primarily on the work efficiency, initiative, and specific contribution of every collective and every man to the common cause.

We conducted several interviews in the Baltic region, as the saying goes, hot on the trail.

B. Galkus, secretary of the party organization of the machine-assembly shop at the Rigakhimmash Plant:

"In his speech at the meeting of the aktiv in Riga Mikhail Sergeyevich noted that the Baltic republics merged their material and spiritual resources with other Soviet republics and, leaning on the power of the country's entire national economic complex, developed the economy in an all-around manner. Our plant belongs to the new chemical machine building sector, which is not traditional for Latvia.

"We are strong in our common labor, our common achievements, and mutual assistance.

"Of course, a great deal in the work must be changed. Let us take our party meetings. Often they still are 'toothless' and uninteresting. Or, meetings go well, shortcomings are exposed, culprits named and sometimes even punished, but, you look, a month, or a year passes, yet the situation has not improved.

Who is to blame? First of all, I, secretary of the party organization, because I have not carried the matter through."

"Advising party organizations to closely analyze the reasons for people's concern about the fate of restructuring, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted that it was necessary to attain a unity of word and deed and not to permit a gap between them, as was the case previously, when one thing was proclaimed and another thing was done. Now the party has waged a decisive fight against idle talk," A. Yushenkov, molder at the casting production facility of the Riga Railroad Car Building Plant, shared his thoughts. "This is correct. Many words were said. Deeds are needed. Let us take the casting shop, where I work as a molder. Work is heavy and dirty and equipment is old, often breaking down. People also have many complaints against the cafeteria. Dishes are cold and tasteless. Don't plant managers know about this? They do. For the time being, however, they do nothing.

"In the course of restructuring we also encounter other difficulties and inertia in thought. No, we don't whine. We fight."

"'We should not view restructuring from the standpoint of consumerism and expect immediate results. After all, this matter is only unfolding. At the same time, however, it is necessary to always think about people's social feelings.' I put down these words uttered by Mikhail Sergeyevich in a notebook," noted L. Petersone, participant in the meeting of the party aktiv in Riga, Hero of Socialist Labor, mechanical milking operator on the Ledurga Kolkhoz in Limbazhskiy Rayon. "All of us must work better and more conscientiously and evaluate critically what has been done. All of us-milkmaids, field crop workers, and specialists.

"The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee correctly criticized us, Latvian rural workers. We do not utilize the existing potential in full measure. We could give more meat and milk. We announced the following to Yanis Varpe, our new kolkhoz chairman: Learn from the best Latvian managers, such as A. Kauls, chairman of the Adazhi Agrofirm. Why was he able to build such a complex as Brilyanti and we cannot? We must also seriously begin the construction of housing for milkmaids."

"At the meeting of the party aktiv in Riga M. S. Gorbachev noted that restructuring concerned all the spheres of our life, including the ideological sphere," said V. Artmane, USSR people's artist. "There was a time when we, art workers, got away from problems which disturbed people. Meanwhile, they did not disappear, but became more acute. For example, I am deeply concerned about the fact that relations in the family, relations between parents and children, have begun to be weakened. Some young people have even begun to flaunt this, saying, we are not obliged to do as you, old people, say. There is less respect for parents and for women. This is fraught with serious consequences, primarily for the young people themselves. It is necessary to revive in the maximum possible way the cult of kindness and gratitude for what the older generation has done for us. One should remember one's mother more often. Not without reason one of our popular songs says: 'Sit, my mummy, on a low chair, you sit low on it, but how high is your wisdom!'

I also think a great deal about how our national relations are formed, how to better strengthen friendship among nations, and how to develop our Soviet internationalism. Mikhail Sergeyevich said correctly: Cultivation of this ense is a delicate matter requiring a great deal of tact.

Unfortunately, recently in the republic manifestations of certain signs of nationalism and of somekind of national superiority have become, I would say not very much, but all the same, noticeable. I repeat, there are not many such instances. Nevertheless, they should put us on the alert. The republic's party organization gave a fundamental evaluation to these symptoms and more surposefully managed work on improving international education, especially mong youth. We, art workers, will also have to do a great deal."

(u. Ryaym, first secretary of the Kingiseppskiy Raykom of the Communist Party of Estonia:

Our rayon is on the island of Saaremaa in the Baltic Sea. The geographical ocation has also left its mark on the character of the islanders and on the conomy. The work of each of us is connected with fishing in one way or nother.

'A large fishing fleet was established in the republic. State, as well as cooperative, enterprises engage in fish catching and processing. Fishermen, including from Saaremaa, go out to the Baltic and Barentsevo seas and to the Atlantic Ocean.

However, the results could have been and should become more successful, but for this we must change the method of work. There is still a great deal of formalism, overorganization, and fuss at meetings, and much paper. Now there should be new methods and new approaches, which would maximally bring people closer to understanding that today they really become masters of production. Cost accounting, collective and family contracts, and self-supporting production—all these are human categories. They will not 'work' if we don't have constant communication with people and a lively understanding of the affairs and concerns of labor collectives."

'In order that the influence of primary party organizations may grow, we increase their fighting spirit," says E. Sillari, first secretary of the fallinn Gorkom of the Communist Party of Estonia. "We send gorkom workers to provide assistance. In general, we introduce the following rule: Instructors, department heads, and gorkom secretaries should work mostly with and among people, directly in labor collectives, not in offices.

'We began the practice with reports by raykom and gorkom secretaries in primary party organizations. They come to a plant, an institute, a construction project, or a seaport and report to party members on how they, personally, not the raykom or the gorkom, are carrying out the restructuring.

"Of course, not everything is proceeding smoothly yet. Some have simply lost their heads in the pursuit of innovations. However, fuss is not the best helper here."

"Democratization of party work is proceeding in many directions," A. Soydla, head of the department for organizational and party work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, joins the conversation. "The plenum of the Narva Gorkom held a few days ago was interesting. Its participants elected the first secretary by secret vote. The candidacies of second secretary V. Malkovskiy and B. Beloumov, secretary of the party committee of the furniture combine, were submitted for discussion.

"Usually, the organizational plenum lasted from 5 to 10 minutes. Here, however, the discussion alone lasted about 1 hour. People really discussed the candidates, weighed their potential, and spoke about their strong and weak character traits and methods of work. They argued, demonstrated, and proposed. V. Malkovskiy was elected first secretary by the majority of votes."

"During a meeting with students at the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute M. S. Gorbachev said that restructuring was addressed primarily to young people and to their future," said E. Rakhumaa, dean of the Faculty of Law of Tartu State University. "Bright horizons and a vast field of activity are opening up before our young men and women. They should be prepared for the fulfillment of tomorrow's tasks.

"I see that a good young generation is rising. Nevertheless, we are disturbed by the fact that some young people are too infantile, are noted for a frivolous attitude toward life and for an indifference to what is going on around them, and master knowledge carelessly. And what is an undistinguished student? Almost for sure tomorrow he will be a duli, semi-competent specialist. Does restructuring need such people?

"As is well known, responsibility educates. We still do not trust students very much. Thus, one has only to flash the idea of a free attendance at lectures for the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education to turn on the 'red light' before it. In brief, we cannot stop in the search, in the development of experiments. The higher school should give restructuring top-level specialists."

"We support M. S. Gorbachev's thought about the development of cooperatives," said R. Pyld, chief of the Department for Secondary Raw Materials of the Estonian SSR Gossnab. "The utilization of secondary resources is of great importance for our republic, because we bring basic types of raw materials from the country's other economic regions. We have decided to establish cooperatives for the procurement and processing of secondary raw materials. Before the end of the year we intend to establish 36 cooperatives with a total volume of output worth 960,000 rubles."

T. Almre, machine operator on the Vambola Kolkhoz in Vilyandiskiy Rayon, secretary of the primary Komsomol organization, delegate to the 20th Congress of Estonia's Komsomol, shared his impressions with us:

"In his speech at the congress of the Estonian Komsomol M. S. Gorbachev appealed to young people: Let the Komsomol slogan 'Everything for

Eastructuring' resound as during the revolutionary, fighting, and decisive moments of our history.

"This appeal demands from us bold actions and a decisive fight against formalism, without any kind of stagnation or disparagement of the role of young people. But how does this turn out sometimes? The young machine operator is last in line for equipment and the equipment he gets is half broken down at that. Such an attitude toward young people should be reversed. However, young men and women should assert themselves with honest labor and ardent enthusiasm.

"Yes, everything in our life depends on ourselves--on our common labor, desire, ability, and efficiency. We must remember the simple truth: Even the most ordinary job performed without indifference and with love is bound to join the general flow of our people's main causes and to become a particle of the common labor for the sake of peace and socialism."

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CSO: 1800/386

#### REGIONAL ISSUES

## UKRAINIAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY CHAIRMAN DISCUSSES FOREIGN TIES

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Sep 86 p 3

[Interview with V.P. Osnachom, president, Ukrainian Society of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries, conducted by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent I. Gorkun: "Friendship Knows No Borders", date and place not specified; first paragraph in boldface in source]

[Text] The Ukrainian Society of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries [UODKS] has turned sixty. On the eve of this event I. Gorkun, a correspondent for PRAVDA UKRAINY, met with the president of the Society, V. P. Oznachom, and asked him to answer a number of questions.

Question: Vasiliy Pavlovich, remind our readers about the history of the creation of the Ukrainian Society of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries.

Answer: Work on establishing and expanding ties with the progressive foreign community in the beginning of the 1920's became one of the first important steps of the young Soviet Ukraine, which had begun a period of peaceful construction after the Civil War. Support of the striking English miners in 1921, and aid to the strikers in the Ruhr basin (Germany) in 1923 marked the beginning of Ukrainian workers' international ties.

In 1926, when the Ukrainian Society of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries was created, its work began with the establishment of contacts with independent agents of culture abroad, and in the first years ties with 147 partners in Germany, Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and other countries were set up. At that time fine arts exhibits by Soviet Ukrainian masters enjoyed great success in Berlin, Gdansk, Prague, Oslo, Stockholm and other cities. Photography expositions telling about life in the Ukrainian SSR attracted many visitors in different countries. In turn, the Ukrainian Society introduced the Soviet people to the best examples of foreign art: in 1929 in Kharkov there were exhibits of German drawings and children's books, as well as exhibits devoted to Japanese and Dutch cinema. Even during the difficult years of the Second World War the Society did not stop its activities. Evacuated deep into the country, it prepared materials which told the foreign public about the heroism of the Soviet fighters battling fascism, and sent literature to countries of the anti-Hitler coalition.

A new phase in the Ukrainian Society's development of foreign ties began after the end of the war. The influence of the Soviet nation, which had grown up during the years of struggle with fascism, evoked a new wave of interest in its life, culture, and in the republics which had suffered most from the invaders and which had made a great contribution to the defeat of fascism. This included the Ukraine, which became one of the founders of the United Nations.

Question: In his statement on August 18 M. S. Gorbachev noted: "Our external politics are inspired by the fact that all over the world in the consciousness of the people, political and social forces of the most varied orientation and world outlook are becoming more and more firmly convinced of one thing: the very existence of the human race is at stake; the time has come for decisive and responsible actions." It would be interesting to learn what the Friendship Society is doing in this complex international situation.

Answer: The development of international events confirms in the consciousness of an ever greater number of people the indissolubility of the struggle for peace and the strengthening of friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the earth. The most important task of the Society is to work on spreading the peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government, acquiring new friends for our country abroad and strengthening our multi-faceted ties with the foreign public.

Today the Ukrainian Society of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries (it was given this name in 1959) is a wide-spread organization which unites on a voluntary basis hundreds of thousands of representatives of the republic's society--people of different ages and professions. In its active membership there are 17 republic and more than 450 oblast, city and rayon branches of Soviet Friendship Societies with individual countries, groups of countries and regions. The make-up of the Ukrainian Society includes 13 professional sections, commissions and associations. Active cooperation takes place in them among artists and lawyers, architects and doctors, composers and performers, teachers, students. . .

The scales of the society's activity and its popularity abroad can also be shown with the help of numbers: among its permanent partners there are around 700 foreign organizations, organs of mass media, educational institutions and libraries, and also many scientists and cultural figures from almost 100 countries of the world.

The Ukrainian Society of Friendship maintains its closest and most extensive contacts with its brother socialist governments. Every year up to 50,000 different projects devoted to socialist countries are carried out in all of the republic's oblasts and cities.

Question: Many of our newspaper's readers are interested in such aspects of cooperation as sister cities. . .

Answer: Recently the public has shown a greater interest in this form of cooperation. And this is not surprising; you know it embraces many different sides of political, economic, and cultural life, as well as many social questions. At present twenty cities in the Ukraine and 2 rayons in Kiev are matched up with more than 50 cities in 17 capitalist and developing countries. Multilateral ties on the most varied levels unite Kiev, Donetsk, Voroshilovgrad, Yalta and other cities with partners from Great Britain, Canada, Japan, France, Italy, the FRG, Austria. . . And new cities continue to take up this initiative.

A meeting of representatives from the English city of Sheffield and the capital of the Shakhterskiy kray dedidacted to the thirtieth anniversary of the sisterhood of these two cities is now taking place in Donetsk. At this meeting an appeal was made to the inhabitants of Donetsk and Sheffield, directed at the further development of friendly relations between the representatives of the population of the two cities and in support of the Soviet Union's peaceful initiatives. In September the Japanese city of Kyoto will hold Kiev Days, timed for the fifteenth anniversary of the establishment of sister ties between these cities.

Foreign cities paired with cities in our country play an appreciable role in the movement for the creation of non-nuclear zones. Today in Japan alone more than 500 cities and prefectures have been declared such zones, including Yokohama and Fujisawa, the sister cities of Odessa and Yalta. All of this opens new possibilities for work. Friendship society organizations are trying to find new ways and resources for strengthening the existing sister ties, and are attracting broad strata of the public for participation in them.

In October the next session of the council of the World Federation of Sister Cities (VFPG) will take place in our republic's capital. The session will draw representatives from many cities from different countries of the world. It is expected that at this meeting a joint manifesto of sister cities in the defense of peace will de adopted."

Question: What was the reaction of the public in capitalist countries to the accident at the Chernobyl AES?

Answer: The anti-Soviet campaign which the mass media in the West unfolded regarding this could not stifle the broad show of sincere concern and the striving to help the Soviet people at a difficult time. Dozens of representatives of the foreign public addressed our society personally and sent touching letters, simple people from many countries of the world. Here, for example, is an excerpt from a letter from F. Lamburs from the French city of Vinay: "As all advocates of peace and all people recalling the sacrifices borne by the Soviet people in the name of freeing us from nazism, I was deeply shaken when I learned about the accident at Chernobyl. But the Soviet people are proving that they will do everything in order to cope with the consequences of this accident, in spite of the attempts of certain circles to use this unfortunate incident for despicable purposes." More and more people in the world are actively taking part in the struggle

against nuclear self-annihilation, and among them are scientists, doctors, lawyers and writers. Their cooperation is developing through the friendship societies as well.

Question: In conclusion, a few words about your society's plans.

Answer: In the next five years the conduct of 25 large-scale, joint projects are foreseen: USSR Days abroad and eleven such events in the republic. Just before the end of this year and next year there will be USSR Days in collaboration with the Ukrainian SSR in the Mongolian People's Republic, the FRG, on Cyprus, in Jordan, in the African countries Rwanda and Burundi, in Kampuchea, Belgium, Luxembourg, Gret Britain, and Norway, and a joint venture "Getting Acquainted with the USSR" in France. There will be Soviet-Indian Friendship Days, Genoa Days in Odesan, Capri Days in Alushta, and others. Many thousands of pieces of literature, more than 500 copies of large-scale photoexhibits, around 40 complete sets of Ukrainian folk decorative-applied arts exhibits, as well as record albums and pins will be sent to our foreign partners. The plans of the professional sections are varied and extensive; we will also propose much that is interesting to foreign students studying in our republic's higher educational institutions.

This is only a small part of what lies ahead for the Ukrainian Society of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries to do in order to enable a further strengthening of the Ukrainian SSR public's international ties in the interests of peace, friendship and cooperation among peoples.

13174/7687 CSO: 1800/006

## REGIONAL ISSUES

NEW HYDROELECTRIC PLANT TO BE BUILT ON LATVIA'S DAUGAVA RIVER

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Jan 87 p 11

[Article by Daynis Ivans and Artur Snips, Riga: "A Secret Project"]

[Text] Riga--A strange funeral procession could be observed in summer in one of Latvia's most beautiful places, not far from the city of Daugavpils, near the village of Slutishki, where our republic's biggest river, the Daugava, flows calmly and majestically, as 1,000 years ago, through a picturesque valley. An excavator, a bulldozer, and a motor vehicle with human remains followed the same route several times a day: from the Mark cemetery on the bank of the river to the nearest Spruktinskiy cemetery. The bewildered residents were puzzled. They did not yet know the sensational news: Preparations were being made for flooding the 200-km Daugava Valley in connection with the forthcoming construction of the Daugavpilsskaya GES. This construction was begun several years ago and then it was stopped. People calmed down. But, it turns out, in vain.

One-half of the Daugava on Latvia's territory, using the language of hydraulic engineers, is already "equipped with excellent and reliable dams and weirs of Plyavinskaya, Kegumskaya, and Rizhskaya hydroelectric power stations." Regions which have vast national economic, cultural-historical, and natural value are covered with the waters of "man-made rivers." Well then, the stage of another hydroelectric power station has arrived. Having found out about this, we began our investigation. As it turned out, 82 Latvian and 60 Belorussian settlements are doomed to destruction.

Continuing the investigation, we tried not to give free reign to our emotions. In the end scientific and technical progress cannot be stopped and for the sake of its triumph some losses are inevitable. Well, and if the damage proves to be much bigger than the benefit? Before 1958 the Daugava was one of the best rivers for fishing in the world. However, after the construction of the hydroelectric power station's cascade the river's fish productivity decreased manyfold. This is not all. When the river's self-cleaning processes were disrupted, the Gulf of Riga suffered. Ground water rose far around the banks, transforming arable land and meadows into swamps. (Owing to this, our Botanical Garden incurred irreparable losses). Destructive floods

became more frequent... The list of unfortunate consequences can go on and on.

Gathering materials for this publication with anxiety in our hearts, we made the rounds of dozens of institutions, spoke with many specialists, and became convinced: The project has no ecological substantiation. It appears that its developers, as well as all those who sanctioned and approved the construction of the new hydroelectric power station, saw in the Daugava only a certain amount of water for meeting practical needs.

Our opponents accused us of forgetting the economy. "You tremble over the flowers," they said, "and forget the ruble and the needs of the national economy."

Well, we will suppress for a moment our pain in connection with the destruction of the unique beauty of the 200-km Daugava Valley. For the time being, we won't grieve over the Daugava-the source of poetic inspiration and distinctive symbol of the people's spiritual life. For now we won't mourn over the "flowers"--the genetic storeroom of European significance doomed to destruction. There is an area of the rarest plants in the world here. Nor will we reproach hydraulic engineers for destroying the "geomorphological museum in the open air." Let us turn exclusively to the economy.

People involved in the construction of the hydroelectric power station hurled many figures at us. However, we did not manage to find out the true cost of produced power. In the project of the hydroelectric power station there is only the sum of capital investments per kw and, moreover, in a truncated form--only expenditures on basic construction are taken into account. However, even these "truncated expenditures" are quite big--518 rubles. (At the Rizhskaya GES 1 kw cost 270 rubles and at the Kegumskaya, 170).

Planners admit as though through clenched teeth that "individual indicators of the DGES [Daugavpilsskaya GES] are slightly worse as compared with the Rizhskaya GES." What "individual indicators" are these? It turns out that the flooded area per kw in the environs of Daugavpils will be almost twice as big as that in the environs of Riga. Arable land will suffer especially. The population's "movement" will have to increase 3.5-fold and house demolition, eightfold. And what are the "pluses"? We will remove 25 percent less soil, they say.

The economic effect from reservoir construction allegedly amounts to tens of millions of rubles. How adroitly it is deduced! For example, farms, whose pastures are subject to destruction and flooding, receive compensation (these are losses of hydraulic engineers). However, the value of old farms which can still last for a long time, is insignificant. Instead of them kolkhozes and sovkhozes will have to build new ones and to lay out a tidy sum for this. And what about the lost time, which is also money? And what about scarce building materials? And what about the shortage of manpower? The same is with arable land. The average annual proceeds from it are paid to farms. New land will have to be developed instead of the lost one, but where is it to be gotten from? And if one manages to plow and plant, when will expenditures be recovered? Here is another example: the flooded forest. Compensation for it

is also assumed. However, one-third of this forest is young. Today its cubic content is not worth much and the losses of hydraulic engineers are seemingly not big. On the other hand, after several decades the value of this forest would have increased severalfold.

The only high-quality gravel deposits in the region are located on the flooded territory. Now geologists are hastily searching for new deposits. And if they don't find them? Then gravel has to be brought for reinforced concrete article plants in Daugavpils from Kaliningrad. But these losses of hydraulic engineers will in no way be touched upon. One department tries to cheat other departments. However, the state is the loser.

Losses, which will result from the prolonged destruction of reservoir banks, should also be calculated. According to scientists' forecast, banks will be consolidated only after 70 to 100 years. Water will bring millions of "cubes" of silt to them, the putrefaction process will intensify, and the river's capacity for self-cleaning will weaken. The waters of the Daugava and of the Gulf of Riga (the Yurmala health resort is here) will turn into a stinking semiliquid mass of blue and green algae. Even a superficial familiarization with the economic substantiation of this project suggests the idea that, to put it mildly, it is not substantiated. Many major characteristics and calculations are absent (omitted? hidden? distorted?) in it.

Research at the site of the Daugavpilsskaya GES began to be conducted in the 1960's. The initial cost of construction—115 million rubles—was determined in 1974. Then this sum increased to 254 million. This divergence itself suggests the idea that nonprofessionals engaged in the economic substantiation. Or, possibly, there was supreme professionalism in the initial silence about expenditures.

There are 12 years between the project's development and the beginning of its realization. This alone indicates that the project contains backward ideas and solutions—they could not but become obsolete during such a period.

As is evident now, much of the most necessary research did not precede the project. The research that was carried out was performed primarily by institutes in remote regions. Latvian scientists were hardly involved, although such an attempt was seemingly made at the beginning. The developer of this project—Gidroproyekt [All-Union Order of Lenin Planning-Surveying and Scientific Research Institute imeni S. Ya. Zhuk]—even concluded in economic contract with the Institute of Biology of the Latvian SSR Academy o. Sciences "for research on the ecological situation in the region of the proposed flooding." However, after half a year without an explanation of the reasons the contract was canceled. Perhaps by that time the planners learned about the position of biologists, who considered the destruction of the flora in the Daugava Vailey a "crime"? However, this is a fundamental problem—it concerns any region in the country: When major projects are implemented, the opinion of specialists, who are well familiar with local economic and ecological conditions, should not be ignored.

Subsequently, Gidroproyekt was more wary: Involving a specific institute in an expert examination, it strictly saw to it that people not inclined to

express their own opinions were among the experts. However, we will not offend everyone wholesale: Everyone was given such a particular, especially autonomous task that at times it was simply impossible to draw a general conclusion. Gidroproyekt entirely reserved to itself the right to sum up information and to draw conclusions from it. Even the research method was sometimes suggested to experts. They ceased to be experts and became exclusively technical executors.

Sometimes, however, scientists began to rebel--they did not want to be pawns. For example, Baltrybvod specialists began to signal that tests for fish survival were not conducted. They also tried to draw the attention of their superior Moscow colleagues to the fact that power engineers obviously underestimated the drops in the water level. The doubts and apprehensions of Riga residents were heard and... disregarded.

Defenders of DGES construction are now ready to acknowledge many of the project's imperfections. "However, energy is needed," they say. "The project does not have an alternative."

As we see, the project ripened secretly, silently, safely hidden in the department's innermost depths. In the end, however, the secret became obvious: The Latvian newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA (LITERATURE AND ART) published the absurdities of the DGES project and discussed the possible consequences of construction. The republic's Council of Ministers established a special commission, instructing it to make an expert examination of this project. The public became agitated. Party members in Latvia's Writers' Union sent an anxious letter to the republic's leaders. Scientists, workers, students, and schoolchildren began to write petitions in defense of the Daugava and to collect signatures.

Of course, it is not up to schoolchildren to decide whether the hydroelectric power station should exist or not. However, since publicity was late and at one time scientists were unable to openly cross swords, now it is necessary to pay for this.

The majority agreed that saving electric power would be the best alternative. People recalled that at the height of the energy crisis in Europe energy consumption was reduced to one-third, but, nevertheless, industry survived. An example was also found nearer: An energy saving program was developed in Estonia. During the first months of its realization millions of kilowatthours were saved. It was also suggested that energy norm setting be stricter.

The power engineers themselves suggested quite a simple way out: To build an additional electric transmission line with substations and to connect through it the center of the Latvian power system with the Ignalinskaya AES (it is 30 km away from Daugavpils).

Specialists also saw an alternative in the search for other energy sources. As a last resort it is possible to use the energy of other Latvian rivers. There are 50 tiny hydroelectric power stations in Latvia. They have been hastily retired on a pension, but they can still serve. It is also a matter of two experimental biostations, which operate well on waste.

Now, when the reader has learned the history of the birth of this project, which can do such damage, he has the right to demand: "Author to the stage!" Let all those involved—those that ordered, planned, and gave their scientific consent—come out and publicly give a report. Alas, however, we will not be able to meet this legitimate demand by readers. We tried many times to see the project with our own eyes, but did not see it. This completely nonsecret document is tightly classified. "There is no need for you to examine it closely," Ya. Knoks, chief of DGES construction, snapped back categorically and his deputy A. Mazur explained: "The less information we give to the press, the better."

We managed to find out that V. P. Tveritnev, manager of the project, intended to come to Riga. We telephoned him and requested a meeting. Tveritnev answered that he did not have the right... to meet with journalists.

This is how hydraulic engineers understand openness—as something dangerous and harmful for their department, as something that should be opposed in every possible way. And they oppose it!

P. S. While the article was being prepared for the press, the expert commission decided to raise the question of the advisability of DGES construction before the government.

11439 CSO: 1800/386

## RECEDING GLACIERS IN TAJIK SSR CAUSE CONCERN

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 87 p 6

[Article by O. Latifi, PRAVDA correspondent: "Springs of the Desert Valleys: Cause for Alarm on the Glaciers of Central Asia"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] I was flying in a day-dream. But I became convinced of the reality of the terrible problem. What I had heard in childhood was lodged in my head: that snow which has been on the ground for a long time turns into "pir", old ice. Worms spring up in it in time, and grow into predatory animals. I remembered all this on the Fedchenko glacier, where snow leopards sometimes come to the country's highest-altitude meteorological station. But it is something else that is frightening, signs of the danger the scientists spoke of are visibly apparent.

Before preparing for the long, difficult journey, there is a meeting with the head of the Tajik Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control Administration Hydrographic Group, G. Kernovsovyy. Kernovsovyy is on more than familiar terms with almost each of the republic's glaciers, of which there are some one hundred, just counting the largest.

"It's not enough just to record and transmit data," says Gennadiy Aleksandrovich. "We can't get along without a scientific subsection here. We are setting up a glacierological program."

A. Shukurov, the young new head of the Administration, is fighting for such a subsection and actively restructuring operations. He is an atmospheric physicist, a candidate of sciences who worked in Moscow. He was offered a position back in his home area; who, if not he, should head such a complex field of work? I have known him since his student days. He was a brilliant graduate of Leningrad University. The path of his scientific research led him to the Institute of Atmospheric Physics.

Abdukhakim Khamrayevich represents V. Galchenko. It's he who should be put onto Fedchenko. A monthly plan is being elaborated for a survey of the glacier. Vyacheslav is young, but he has been dealing with glaciers since his student days. Before boarding the helicopter, he "enlightens" me.

Glaciers occupy 5 percent of the territory of the republic. It is appropriate to remember that the habitable valleys and footlands occupy only 7 percent. The interest in the mountains is enormous. Earlier it was resources which drew scientists; they represent a veritable Mendeleyev's periodic table. Now everyone is interested in the gigantic icebergs. Within them lies the source and spring of life of all Central Asia.

At last good weather comes. We all load into the helicopter. The heaviest cargo is the tank with fuel for the return flight. Commander B. Murin, Copilot Kh. Abdurakhmanov, Flight Engineer A. Kulik, and Flight Inspector S. Sychev take the aircraft over Dushanbe. We fly along the usual route, now over mountains, now over canyons. At times it looks as if the blades will touch the rocks. The remains of a helicopter can be seen protruding from the snow; we fly in a circle in memory of the aviators.

At the Altyn-Mazar meteorological station we unload as much weight as possible, rolling out the fuel tank as well. From here on the altitude is steep. The rotary-wing craft literally clambers toward the moutaintops. V. Galchenko is already at work, conducting observations. V. Volkov munches on apples in a leisurely manner. He has been on vacation, spending some time at home, in Novosibirsk. Now he is returning for the winter.

A. Shukurov and V. Galchenko are discussing flight observations. For me much of this is like a miracle. Who wouldn't be astounded by frozen waterfalls! Dozens of glaciers, like a river, are descending right from the mountaintop towards Fedchenko itself. And the giant itself, of course, is not an iceberg gleaming in the ocean. On its surface light blue crevasses and grottos alternate with rock strata. It goes on this way for the entire length of the glacier's more than 70 kilometers.

My fellow travellers are preoccupied looking at the ancient profile of the glacier. It is distinctly exposed on the mountain slopes. This was discussed with alarm at the "roundtable." Someone even said "The glaciers are dying." This can be most clearly traced at the Zeravshanskiy glacier. In the 1920s, it shrank one meter a month. Now it shrinks five.

No one notices this down below. To be sure, the flow of the river practically doesn't change. Ice-covered mountains seldom become the subject of general attention. For the last some 30 years the Medvezhiy glacier has occasionally been troublesome, and specialists and reporters would fly in. Its "tongue" would move and block a small river. And last year this information found its way into the press. But when a large number of people flew in to Vanchskiy rayon, they saw the opposite, the Medvezhiy was dying....

At the "roundtable" scientists and specialists tried for the first time to take a comprehensive view of the springs and resources, and discuss problems of using the water not only in the republic, but in the region as well. Basically the rivers of Central Asia run down from the mountains of Tajikistan and neighboring Kirghizia. And the majority of them originate from glaciers. The exchange of views showed that the production structure of enterprises, the

heating systems, methods of irrigation and the area of soil irrigation, reservoirs, and the desert have an effect on the rivers.

The hypothesis that the desert is disappearing, that is, becoming increasingly flooded with water, is supported by the death of the glaciers, and makes it necessary to deal with the developing situation in all earnestness. There is reason in the suggestions that the problems of mountain glaciers be studied extensively and examined on a global scale; these glaciers are the source and pledge of life in the vast expanses. And an organizational group created in the Academy of Sciences of this republic has taken this task upon itself.

"We can't land," says A. Kulik.

The helicopter circles above the Meteorological Station imeni Gorbunov. Below, the wind is raging. We set out for Dzhirgatal.

It is only the next day that we manage to land, or more correctly, cling onto the minuscule landing area on the cliff where the meteorological station is located. The little house was built back in the 1930s, but it is more durable than the new ones. Double walls keep out the cold. For the chief, Igor Zaperchenko. We leaf through the visitors' book. Thrill-seekers attack the glacier in the winter as well as the summer.

A. Konyshev is packing his things in the other room. He is leaving the Fedchenko glacier. Meteorological stations like this one are space laboratories where a man, among other things, undergoes a trial of his ability to get along with others. Conflicts occur. At the Hydrometeorological and Environmental Control Administration, they were worried that it was perhaps this that caused Andrey to want to leave. But he simply couldn't take the work schedule. Remember, it's 24 hours a day: every three hours you have to rush out to the instruments; meanwhile there's the cooking, cleaning....

On the return trip we are lost in thought. Now you see many things differently. Little snow has fallen around the glacier, which is bad: the glaciers won't grow. Below Dznirgatal there is much snow, but it melts quickly in the spring. Again there has been bad weather on the mountains in recent days. Snowstorms.

13320 CSO: 1830/321

#### REGIONAL ISSUES

#### PROPOSALS MADE TO REDUCE WATER LOSSES IN TUSSR

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 11 January 1987 carries on page 2 a 1400-word article by T. Altyyev, first deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources, headlined "Let's Use Water Rationally." He points out that "every farmer knows that water losses are great. Twenty-five to thirty percent of the water within an enterprise's irrigation network is lost. Prior to any attempts to retain water on the enterprise, the successful weeding and desilting of the irrigation network would reduce water losses by close to 10 percent. According to data from scientific research institutions, one could reduce water losses of kolkhoz and sovkhoz farmlands by up to 30 percent and increase cotton productivity by 10 percent. Because of the water shortage, it is impossible to supply the needed quantity of water to all irrigation canals and brigades. Thus, we have to use water very economically. Rotating water flow through the canal would also reduce water losses."

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CSO: 1830/405

REGIONAL ISSUES

## BRIEFS

GEORGIAN TELEVISION RECEPTION IMPROVED—Seven more rayons in Georgia have now begun receiving the second All-Union Central Television program. The latest apparatus, not far from Gori, was set up by Leningrad specialists. Virtually all inhabitants in the republic are now able to watch Central Television programs. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1850 GMT 18 Mar 87 LD] /8309

UZBEK TV RELAY COMMISSIONED--The Uzbekistan Ministry of Communications has commissioned a powerful relay station in the very center of the Kyzykum Desert. Today stockbreeders, including those in the most remote parts of Bukhara Oblast, are able to see television programs in color. In the near future several satellite communication stations will also begin to work in the Ustyurt plateau in the Karalkapak. [Summary] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 18 Mar 87 LD] /8309

CSO: 1830/408

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